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Belgrade CSCE conference fails to meet deadline

The Belgrade conference convened on 4 October to review the 1975 Helsinki accords will not succeed in reaching a conclusion this year — just as Western and neutral diplomats anticipated during the preparatory conference last summer.

They accordingly made provision for a further session of the conference from mid-January to mid-February should delegates fail to reach agreement on a draft final document by 22 December.

The final document has been on the Belgrade agenda for weeks but the conference cannot be said to be anywhere near agreement on a draft version.

The thirty-five delegations have submitted no fewer than 100 proposals, some of which are so diametrically opposed to each other that compromise formulas will not always prove possible, given the varying interests of East Bloc and Western participants.

The Czech and GDR delegations, for instance, have called for official undertakings to ensure that the mass media no longer "intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries."

Western and neutral countries, on the other hand, are backing a Swiss resolution calling for an improvement in working conditions for foreign correspondents and for a freer flow of information.

So it is that the Eastern Bloc, on the pretext of a guarantee of security and cooperation in Europe, is calling for the introduction of press censorship in the West, whereas the non-socialist countries are calling for a gradual relaxation of this selfsame censorship in the East.

It goes without saying that these viewpoints will remain unchanged for some time to come — just as it will take time to draft proposals acceptable to all 35 countries represented at the Belgrade conference.

The Soviet Union is keen to bring the proceedings to a conclusion, but it was agreed at the preparatory talks that the Belgrade conference cannot be declared closed until agreement has been reached on a 'substantial' final document and the date and venue of a further review conference.

Moscow is now keen to progress without further delay to sessions at which the draft can be finalised, yet the Soviet delegation, eager though it may be to bring the conference to a conclusion, is unwilling to equip the conference with the wherewithal.

This wherewithal, as the West sees it, consists of the full conference and two working parties to edit the draft, plus further working parties to deal with the following main topics:

— principles of cooperation, including measures designed to inspire confidence;

— scientific and technological, trade and environmental cooperation;

— improvements in individual contacts and the free flow of information, and in cultural and educational cooperation. The working parties responsible for these various baskets were, it was decided last summer, to hold their final sessions on 16 December.

In the circumstances it might well have been appropriate to redesignate them as editorial committees and allow them to get on with the job of formulating drafts. But Eastern Bloc delegations felt unable to agree to this proposal.

The fact of the matter is that the Eastern Bloc countries are finding the negative conclusions reached by the three working parties hard to stomach.

They are not interested in a detailed review of the implementation of the Helsinki accords. What they want is a final document framed in more general terms — and as soon as possible.

Siegfried Löffler

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 December 1977)

'Just let me catch you mentioning human rights again!'
(Cartoon: Gabriel Ross/Kieler Nachrichten)

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Schmidt favours 1980 summit

Nato countries are beginning to come to terms with the idea that a fresh Helsinki review conference ought to be *held in 1980 or so 'at political level.'*

Whether the conference is a summit meeting, as envisaged by Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, or a gathering of *Foreign Ministers or, indeed, a combination of encounters between specialists* and politicians remains to be seen.

Bonn is, however, given to understand *that its Nato and Common Market partners are thinking in terms of a successor* to the current Belgrade conference.

When Herr Schmidt, during his 1 *December talks with Premier Giulio* Andreotti of Italy in Verona, called for a fresh summit meeting of European heads of government he did so to the surprise *of many observers of the political scene.*

Alois Mertes, a Christian Democratic Bundestag deputy who is one of the Bonn *Opposition's foreign policy spokesmen,* referred to the Chancellor's proposal as a "premature shot from the hip."

True enough, the Chancellor's public statement had not been previously agreed at government level. Yet it is only fair to add that the *Foreign Office* has long been aware of Herr Schmidt's personal preference for summit meetings unhampered by what he considers to be *bureaucratic deadweight.*

The Foreign Office has also long known that the Chancellor favours, in the CSCE context, a repetition of the *1975 Helsinki summit.*

Chancellor Schmidt agrees with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher that multilateral detente must continue beyond the current Belgrade CSCE review conference, leading in two and a half years or so to a new conference, this time at political level.

The aim is to prevent East-West ties in Europe from becoming mere routine and ensure that they are always given fresh political stimulus, to quote a leading Bonn diplomat.

Besides, well-informed sources comment, the Chancellor only stated in Verona that a fresh summit conference was conceivable and desirable.

At the Nato summit in Brussels a few days later it transpired that a number of Foreign Ministers were all in favour of Herr Schmidt's suggestion, whereas others would prefer a further CSCE conference at Ministerial level.

British Foreign Secretary David Owen, for instance, was one of those who inclined towards a Ministerial conference rather than a summit meeting.

The current conference, Bonn is convinced, will certainly not end in more than a gathering of Foreign Ministry officials. The final communiqué may not even include a specific reference to the level at which the proposed 'political' follow-up conference is to be held.

"That, after all, will depend on the political climate in a year or two's time," one Bonn expert notes.

In all probability the 1980 conference will begin with a gathering of experts whose consultations will be concluded by a summit meeting or a meeting of Foreign Ministers.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 15 December 1977)

Bonn backs anti-terrorist pledge in Belgrade

All acts of terrorist violence are to be expressly condemned in the final document of the Belgrade CSCE review conference.

The Belgrade communiqué is not only to pillory the use of force by terrorists but also to state the signatories' intention of backing an international agreement against hostage-taking that is to be proposed to the United Nations.

This was the gist of the proposal submitted to the full session of the Belgrade conference on 14 December by Per Fischer, head of the Bonn delegation.

Eighteen Western and neutral countries backed the move unfalteringly and a number of other delegations promised support. The Eastern Bloc countries, however — and Yugoslavia too — adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

In his address to the conference Herr Fischer noted that the world is confronted by a new form of terrorist resort to crime so dangerous that *individual governments were powerless to deal with* it singlehandedly.

"The use of force by terrorists such as *the Baader-Meinhof group has reached* such proportions in an age of mobility and technical perfection that intergovernmental cooperation is a 'must.'

"Then and then only will it be possible to deal effectively with this new form of international criminal activity."

Over the past decade, Herr Fischer continued, this phenomenon has spanned the world like a malignant tumour, especially in its most repugnant form, that of taking innocent people hostage.

It would be incomprehensible, Bonn's chief delegate claimed, if the Belgrade conference were not to deal with this particularly dangerous new manifestation of inhumanity, even though it might not

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Moscow can clear the air in ties with Bonn

Relations with the Soviet Union have hit the headlines again, what with the further postponement of Mr Brezhnev's long-overdue return visit to Bonn and the announcement that Willy Brandt, who was to have held talks with the Soviet leader in Moscow en route to Tokyo in a bid to boost detente, need no longer bother.

Even if the encounter between Mr Brezhnev and Herr Brandt had to be cancelled at the last minute because of ill-health on the part of the Soviet leader, which seems more than likely to have been the case, and even if the meeting takes place a few days later than originally envisaged the delay will still have been embarrassing.

Everyone seems to agree that a chill has set in on relations between Bonn and Moscow, although no one will venture to suggest with any certainty what may have been responsible.

One possibility that is frequently mooted is that the Soviet Union anticipated deriving greater economic benefit from the 1970 agreement between the two countries and is correspondingly disappointed.

This country, however, is Moscow's major trading partner in the West. Since the conclusion of the agreement the volume of trade between the two countries has increased fivefold, totalling 12,000 million deutschmarks last year.

Over the next five years the Soviet Union reckons the volume of trade could increase by a further 100 per cent, so disappointment is surely unwarranted.

Another suggestion occasionally made is that the Kremlin is irritated by this country's attitude on human rights. The truth of the matter is that Bonn's delegation at the Belgrade conference has shown such diplomacy and circumspection that any further bowing and scraping would only lay this country open to allegations of abject obeisance from other Western countries.

Last but not least there is talk of a general malaise in view of the deadlock in ties between Bonn and Moscow. A man who should know what he is talking about is Valentin Falin, the Soviet ambassador in Bonn, and he says that ties between Moscow and Bonn are no better and no worse than Anglo-Soviet or Franco-Soviet ties.

Surely this is a comment worth bearing in mind. Mr Falin notes that relations between this country and the Soviet Union are splendid when compared with what they were prior to the 1970 agreement. He adds, however, that many opportunities have been missed.

Missed opportunities are always regrettable, but otherwise the situation would not appear to be so bad. Let us by all means try to make as good a job as possible of relations between our two countries but surely we may be satisfied that the Soviet Union thinks no worse of us than of Britain and France, its wartime allies.

Why, when all is said and done, should this of all countries be Moscow's favourite in the West? Aspects of mutual political relations that necessitated normalisation have been normalised.

Willy Brandt, whose pioneering work in this sector can hardly be denied, will be able to tell the Soviet leader — assuming they meet — that Bonn need not have an uneasy conscience.

The overall climate of international political relations is to blame for the current trough of low pressure in ties between Bonn and Moscow.

The Kremlin has been taken very much out of its stride by the human rights debate, but it will have to learn to live with it or at least not to dismiss it as a mere tactical ploy on the West's part.

Above all the Soviet Union must come to realise that it is unlikely to gain in credibility as a consequence of advocating further progress towards detente on the one hand while on the other responding to each and every difficulty in East-West ties by launching propaganda broadsides against the harmless policy on Berlin pursued by the Bonn government.

Instead of lamenting missed opportunities in ties between Bonn and Moscow the Soviet Union would do better to show some sign of its own goodwill.

The readiest opportunity of so doing would be to sign the long-overdue agreements on scientific and technological cooperation, mutual legal assistance and cultural exchanges, all of which are ready and waiting to be signed but have been shelved because Moscow refuses to allow the terms of the agreements to apply to West Berlin as well as to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The two countries can coexist and get on with each other well enough without signing these relatively minor agreements, of course, but the Kremlin's refusal to come to terms, which cannot be viewed separately from the repeated postponement of Mr Brezhnev's visit, is bound to give rise to speculation.

There is no real reason why relations between this country and the Soviet Union should deteriorate. But intergovernmental ties can take a turn for the worse as a result of mere verbiage, so delicately can they respond to variations in climate.

It would be good if Mr Brezhnev were to clear the air.

Claus Preller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 December 1977)

Bonn in Belgrade

Continued from page 1

be in a position to resolve specific measures.

The Bonn delegation was disappointed that its resolution on hostage-taking, No. 92 on the conference agenda, was not endorsed by an even larger number of countries including those of Eastern Europe.

Herr Fischer nonetheless expressed the hope that the contents of the proposal would meet with the approval of all.

The French expressed "great sympathy and support" for Bonn's resolution but did not sign it in view of their own recent experience with the kidnapping of French nationals by Polisario guerrillas in the Sahara.

France was keen to incorporate in the draft a condemnation of "all kinds of hostage-taking."

Delegates from a number of Eastern Bloc countries voiced misgivings. The Hungarians and Czechs, for instance, noted that in any discussion of this issue mention ought to be made of aircraft hijacking.

They were far from happy that hijackers were granted political asylum and, even given a hero's welcome in a number of countries. A consensus on terrorism could hardly be expected until a change came about in this state of affairs.

The Yugoslav delegate termed this country's proposal a "useful groundwork" and announced his intention of moving an amendment requiring all countries to treat with the full rigour of the law groups of exiles who were preparing subversive acts against other countries.

Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and Yugoslavia called for the participation of all Mediterranean countries, including those in North Africa and the Middle East, in the security policy talks that concerned them.

This country and three other Western delegations backed Madrid as the venue of a future CSCE review conference. Vienna and Malta are also in the running.

Olaf Ihlau

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 December 1977)

Britain delays European direct vote

Joint direct elections to the European Parliament, which were to have been held next May or June, will have to be postponed — probably until 1979.

This is the upshot of the defeat suffered at Westminster by the bid to elect Britain's 81 European MPs by proportional representation in regional lists rather than by the traditional first-past-the-post method in single constituencies.

The Bill was moved by Labour, necessitated by their parliamentary pact with the Liberals, but defeated by a majority of Tories and a substantial number of Labour MPs.

This outcome can hardly have come as much of a surprise, so Mr Callaghan's government can fairly be accused of dragging its feet on setting a boundary commission to work on drawing up European constituencies.

Britain may talk in terms of an urgent need for parliamentary control of Common Market officials in Brussels but the British are evidently not in such a hurry after all.

This delay is irksome and care must be taken to ensure that joint direct elections to the European Parliament are not postponed indefinitely.

The defeat at Westminster may be due in part to British dissatisfaction with life in the EEC, but it also has domestic reasons and Mr Callaghan will not be too upset at having sustained a parliamentary defeat on this particular issue. Britain's Tory Opposition remains in favour of the *first-past-the-post* principle because proportional representation would stand to benefit the Liberals, and probably at the Tories' expense.

From the Labour point of view an endorsement of proportional representation for elections to the European Parliament would have imposed a burden in another respect.

It would have meant holding the elections next May or June as originally envisaged, which would have reminded the electorate that Labour opinion is as divided on the Common Market as ever, and with, possibly, fateful consequences at a subsequent general election.

For tactical reasons Mr Callaghan is bound to be in favour of keeping the European elections and the next British general election as far apart as possible.

Europe is the loser. At a time when little progress towards European integration seems likely, Europeans had hoped that direct elections to the European Parliament would have testified to a step forward.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 15 December 1977)

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Bonn keen to aid a Portugal intent on economic stability

Bonn was recently termed the backbone of Portugal by a leading Portuguese diplomat. This may be an exaggeration yet Bonn's attitude has indeed contributed much towards the consolidation of democracy in Portugal.

The importance Portugal attaches to relations with this country was indicated by the fact that President Eanes chose to go ahead with his State visit to the Federal Republic despite the parliamentary crisis back home.

The Portuguese head of State's first and foremost aim was to secure German aid for Portugal's ailing economy, and in talks with politicians, industrialists and trade union leaders he encountered a great deal of understanding for his country's position.

Private industry in this country is prepared to step up its investment in Portugal, while Bonn is to increase capital, technological and arms aid to its Nato ally.

The volume of private investment so far testifies to confidence in Portuguese democracy. Last year private investment increased by 120 to 430 million deutschmarks.

Economic aid is subject to a proviso, however. Portugal is currently running an inflation rate of 28 per cent and must set about balancing its budget and stabilising its economy.

Mario Soares' Socialist minority government came to grief on economic policy, so Bonn will be paying careful attention to the economic policies pursued by the new government in Lisbon.

This country may be relied on to back to the hilt any attempt by the Portuguese to help themselves. Much of the credit will be due to President Ramalho Eanes, who has created an extremely favourable impression in Bonn.

Werner Bollmann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 16 December 1977)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Lutze espionage case a severe blow to Nato



The Lutze spy case comes as a severe blow to the security of Nato in general and this country in particular. Lothar-Erwin and Renate Lutze were arrested on 1 June 1976 but the seriousness of the affair has only been made public over the past few days.

When the Lutzes and Jürgen Wiegel were arrested, the late Siegfried Buback as director of public prosecutions said that this was an important case "in which major secrets had been betrayed." He said that it raised the question of whether this country's security was guaranteed.

Herr Buback's successor, Kurt Rebmann, considers that the military consequences of the case are more serious than in the Guillaume affair. (Guillaume was a GDR spy attached to Chancellor Brandt's staff. His discovery led to Willy Brandt's resignation.)

One has to ask how documents from the state prosecutor's office could come into the possession of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which first revealed how serious the affair was. Defence Minister Georg Leber (SPD) has stated that the leak to the *FAZ* was as serious as the secrets case itself. He has instituted legal and disciplinary proceedings against person or persons unknown.

One must also ask why the Minister of Defence took so long to realise the seriousness of the case, indeed that he first learnt about its extent from the *FAZ* reports. Did he rely for too long on the competence and thoroughness of his subordinates in the Ministry?

The secrets revealed are highly important, a fact which will no doubt ensure that Defence Ministry officials will have a number of sleepless nights in the weeks to come.

The secrets passed on to the GDR include an assessment of the Nato "Wintex" exercises, an analysis of enemy military strength, and a critique of weaknesses in the Nato defence system. The secrets themselves are of less importance than the insight they give the Warsaw Pact countries into the way Nato works and is organised.

Renate Lutze worked as secretary to the head of the welfare department at the Ministry of Defence. Her head of department was Ministerial director Herbert Laabs. Her husband worked as an assistant in the armaments department. Jürgen Wiegel, as registrar and archivist in the naval section, had access to classified material.

This trio of spies worked in excellent conditions. They had access to more than a thousand documents marked "top secret."

Frau Lutze had access to her boss's special safe and apart from this she was able to get hold of top secret material elsewhere. This is a fact which has caused widespread indignation in Bonn.

Ministerial director Laabs has already been singled out as a scapegoat and accused of negligence. On the other hand, it seems unreasonable to expect a high-ranking Ministry official to take documents out of the safe and bring them to colleagues himself. In most offices, this is the job of secretaries and messengers.

Herr Laabs can also point to the fact that Renate Lutze had been vetted and classified as "security level 2" which meant that she could be entrusted with top secret material.

He had repeatedly asked the security services to check on his secretary and her contacts but had never at any stage been informed that she was a security risk.

The arrest of the three spies in June last year was more a matter of chance than of specific investigation. Their case came to light in connection with another case that was being investigated.

However, it is only natural to ask what strategic papers, documents on Bundeswehr alarm planning, the blueprint for the development of a new tank and an assessment the enemy's strengths and weaknesses were doing in the welfare department's safe.

If we look at the organisational structure of the Ministry we will find the answer. The Ministry of Defence heads of department form a council which also advises the Minister. This means that each head of department has access to his colleague's papers.

These papers are regularly passed around among heads of department. Ministry of Defence officials will have to ask themselves whether such a spread of top secret material is really necessary.

This spy affair will clearly lead to political controversy, as the first reactions from the CDU/CSU Opposition already indicate. The target for their attack will not necessarily be Defence Minister Georg Leber, as one might expect. It could even be Chancellor Helmut Schmidt himself.

Ministerial director Laabs, who has been suspended, has asked for disciplinary proceedings to be instituted against himself. He was a top Defence Ministry official when Helmut Schmidt was Minister of Defence.

Wolfgang Fechner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 December 1977)

Spy case puts Georg Leber on the spot

The Lutze spy affair is the second major crisis Defence Minister Georg Leber has had to face in the last year (the first was the case of Bundeswehr generals Krupinski and Franke).

Herr Leber probably finds it highly ironical that he enjoys such a reputation in Nato whereas at home he is coming under increasing pressure and criticism.

Yet it does not look as if Georg Leber intends to give up. He informed the defence committee of the Bundestag set up to investigate the Lutze affair that he could only answer their questions for fifty minutes. After this he had other appointments. Leber is clearly operating on the principle of "business as usual."

The question being asked in political circles in Bonn is whether Leber can keep this up. It is quite clear that he is "politically responsible" for everything that happens in his Ministry. The Defence Minister is, ultimately, answerable to the people and its elected representatives in the Bundestag.

On the other hand, Leber's area of responsibility is so vast that the question must be asked whether he can reasonably be expected, as an individual, to keep check of everything that is going on within it.

The Bundeswehr consists of 490,000 soldiers, plus 170,000 civilian employees in the Bundeswehr administrative service. This means that it is the "biggest service industry" in Europe.

The Ministry of Defence has an annual budget of well over DM 30,000 million, out of which national and international investments are made on a scale with which few multinational firms could compete.

Given the size of the Ministry, it is clear that there has to be a strict division of labour. Herr Leber has three state secretaries, two of them civil servants and one an MP.

Helmut Fingerhut, a civil servant, is responsible for administration. This includes personnel, the budget, the administration and law department, the accommodation and billeting department and the welfare department.

Herbert Laabs was head of the welfare department. On the advice of his friends Laabs has applied for leave and asked for disciplinary proceedings to be taken against him.

The other civil servant as state secretary is ex-General Karl Schnell, who is responsible for armaments and military policy. Andreas von Bülow has been parliamentary state secretary for over a year now. His job is to watch over the military leadership and maintain contact with the Bundestag.

Georg Leber "runs" the Ministry with the help of this group, which meets frequently but irregularly. The inspector-general of the Bundeswehr is also in the group. The Minister takes binding decisions within this group. If necessary against the majority of its members. This is what is meant by Leber's "political responsibility," which is final.

Whether the Minister should take the consequences for the fact that one of his subordinates allowed a secretary access to a safe containing state secrets is a matter for debate. And there is no doubt that the question will be heatedly debated in the Bundestag in the next few days.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, 14 December 1977)

Renate Lutze's nine years as a super-spy

GDR agent Renate Lutze was given a post as secretary in the Ministry of Defence at a time when there was an official policy of not taking on any new employees.

Frau Lutze's former colleagues claim to know why an exception was made in her case — her "special relationship and good contacts" with Ministerial director Laabs, her boss.

Until the spy-ring was uncovered, Herbert Laabs, a former confident of Chancellor Schmidt at the Ministry of Defence, was one of the most influential men in the Ministry.

Renate Lutze, one of the GDR's top agents, was arrested in June last year. She began her Bonn career in the Bundeshaus restaurant. From 1973 onwards, she worked as a secretary in the welfare department of the Defence Ministry, where Laabs was head of department. Before this appointment, Renate Lutze had worked as a secretary for Laabs when he was head of staff under Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt.

Renate Lutze had previously worked as a secretary for Defence Ministry official Herr Vogel and then for state secretary Berkhan, who is now the Bundestag's armed forces commissioner, or ombudsman.

Frau Lutze worked under her maiden name of Ubelacker when she first started in the Ministry of Defence in 1968. For nine years, Frau Lutze, who is now 37, passed on information on the Bundeswehr and Nato to the Eastern Bloc every week.

Frau Lutze comes from Brandenburg near Berlin. She came to this country in 1959. Her first job was with a Bonn publishing firm. After six years she got a job as a secretary in the Bundeshaus and started making contacts with politicians.

She got married, in 1973 to Lothar-Erwin Lutze, who had previously served in the Bundeswehr for four years, in which time he got no higher than the rank of lance-corporal. Renate saw to it that he got a job in the Ministry of Defence, where he worked until they were both arrested in June 1976. At the time of his arrest Lutze was in the armaments department.

While Renate Lutze was concentrating on the top secret documents in Herr Laabs' special safe, her husband Lothar-Erwin was finding out all he could about the West's armaments. The Ministry of Defence orders and buys arms from ordnance manufacturers.

Herr Lutze had access to secret material here and also to incoming and outgoing mail. Thanks to him, the Eastern Bloc also benefited from the results of research by arms companies financed by the Bonn government to the tune of millions of deutschmarks.

Nato research projects are also dealt with in Lothar-Erwin Lutze's department. One of his colleagues recalls: "Lutze spoke English well, and I always used to wonder why he spent so much time studying the reports on development projects."

At this time the Bonn government commissioned from domestic manufacturers research work on tank construction and electronics and it has since become clear that the results of this research were immediately passed on to East Berlin. Lutze had previously worked in the personnel section of the Ministry where he had access to Bundeswehr files.

The two agents then brought a third into their operation — Jürgen Wiegel, who, like Lothar Lutze, comes from Bad Kreuznach and was with him in the Bundeswehr. It was Renate who helped Wiegel get his job in the Ministry of Defence.

Wiegel worked in the secret registry of naval command, where all the main documents on naval defence are kept. Wiegel worked as a spy, together with the Lutzes, for about seven years. Before this, he had worked as a civilian employee for the Federal Border Patrol.

Jürgen Wiegel confessed shortly after his arrest last year, and it was largely his evidence which incriminated the Lutzes.

M. Schell/M. Vielain

(Die Welt, 14 December 1977)

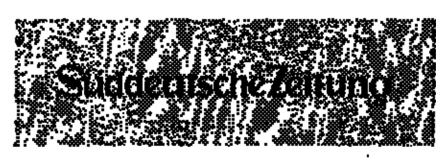
■ THE LAW

Legislation strictly limited in use in the fight against terrorism

Gesetzesschraube, or legislative turn of the screw, is a much-vaunted figure of speech in the context of parliamentary moves to prevent terrorism. But it is not a particularly apt simile.

After all, it is not as if a new Bill were passed in Bonn every day, gradually eroding civil liberties.

Instead, legislators have more or less been chasing their own tails in debates — except in connection with the controversial Contact Ban Act, which was



passed during the recent emergency to prevent contacts between lawyers and their terrorist clients.

It would seem that our legislators, in the dispute about legal details, are about to lose sight of a number of fundamental principles. Essentially, what is involved in the whole process is the borderline usefulness of legislation.

And yet, the image of the screw, disregarding its use in polemics, is apt up to a point and should be borne in mind before the next round of legislative efforts in the terrorism sector is ushered in.

Notwithstanding all risks inherent in applying technical similes to an ethical and legal question, anti-terrorist legislation is already in the very centre of borderline usefulness where improved functioning threatens to turn into zero functioning — an area in which (in terms of constitutionality) the potential profit to be derived is out of proportion to the effort invested.

There is for instance the controversial Contact Ban Act, the tactical use of which in a case of kidnapping, though seemingly evident, is overestimated by far.

No-one can seriously doubt that this law touches upon the very substance of a liberal and constitutional State. Even the nation's highest courts frown upon this law — both so far as the letter of the law and so far as its application are concerned.

Does not the aura of scandal associated with Stammheim gaol, Stuttgart, prove that as a result of unimaginable sloppiness the law has proved as ineffectual as an over-tightened screw?

Was this pitiful result worth the stakes? In any event, it would seem pointless and meaningless to react to the contention that the sum total of our laws is utilised and applied to an extent of only 80 per cent by tightening up by 25 per cent in order to reach 100 per cent.

But above all we must not concentrate all our attention on the latent application deficit but rather on a risk of an entirely different kind. The more a law touches upon the very core of constitutionality the more must our legislators be able to rely on the fact that such laws are applied with the greatest of care and exactitude.

And yet we must ask ourselves whether this very prerequisite is not problematic in itself. Is it perhaps not so that we resort to such delicate laws only in situations where there can be no guarantee that they will be applied with detachment and precision?

The draft laws now being debated give rise to all sorts of reservations. Thus for instance the search of a whole housing block without individual search warrants can only lead to risky situations.

Quite apart from the fact that such a measure, in the course of which some 1.000 apartments might be searched although any one of them could harbour a heavily armed terrorist group, can never take place as inconspicuously as would be necessary, who is to guarantee and bear the responsibility for possible lethal panic reactions on the part of a policeman or on the part of a perfectly innocent family?

Why must barring a defence attorney from one trial (for which there may, in legal terms, certainly be better solutions) now be burdened with the additional question whether even a lesser degree of suspicion should suffice to strip the attorney of his mandate?

So far, the more stringent application of such legislation has not led to the conviction of a single lawyer thus barred from a trial.

Why does the Opposition persist in its demands for supervision of privileged conversation between lawyer and client? It justified the Contact Ban Act by pointing out that even the most honorable of lawyers cannot interpret conspirative codes. Is now an overtaxed judge expected to be in a position to do so?

Not only are such laws problematic in themselves, but they also provide a perfect vehicle for agitation — as for instance in connection with the proposal that the traditional 24-hour detention be doubled, and that merely for the purpose of identification.

The warning might not be heeded in the tug-of-war between the political parties, but it is nevertheless true that only one more turn of the screw will suffice to render it ineffectual. *Robert Leicht*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 December 1977)

Bar Association denies civil liberties claim

Speaking on behalf of members the president of the Bar Association, Dr Helmut Wagner, rebutted the suspicion expressed by segments of the foreign press in connection with terrorism whereby civil liberties are in jeopardy in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Dr Wagner, whose association encompasses about 20,000 of this country's 30,000 lawyers, voiced his alarm at a few scattered lawyers, who are generally considered outsiders, receiving more attention than the majority.

The president of the Bar Association (he is also vice-president of the *Union International des Avocats*, one of the two major international lawyers' associations, and member of the *Commission Consultative*, which was founded for the purpose of dealing with problems of the legal profession in the EEC), expressed his apprehension that much of the mutual faith and cooperation on an international scale could suffer from such distortions of facts.

He criticised above all the fact that such accusations were emotional and that they lacked a basis in fact.

Supported by research surveys, among them one by the Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Penal Law, Freiburg, Dr Wagner pointed out that supervision of verbal communication between defence counsel and client, as called for by the CDU/CSU, is permissible in Italy, Holland, some Swiss cantons, Sweden and Denmark — at least during the preliminary investigation.

In England, Wales, and Austria a visual observation of verbal contacts is permissible.

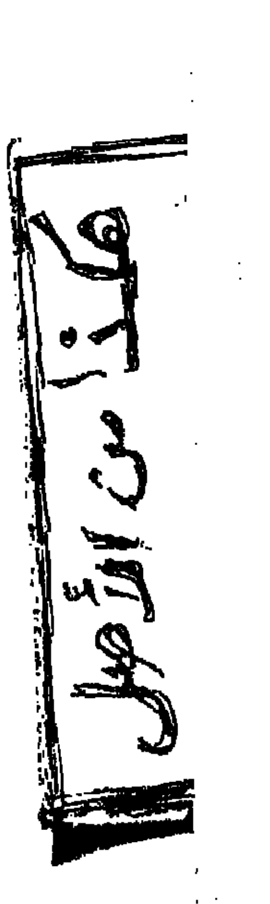
Dr Wagner stressed in this connection that the Bar Association is adamant in rejecting any control of privileged conversation.

The possibility of barring from the court proceedings a lawyer suspected of conspiracy, which has been in effect in this country since 1974 and which is to be tightened up in the wake of anti-terrorist legislation, is also permissible in virtually all European countries.

In Holland, Switzerland England impeding the course of justice is another ground for the exclusion of a lawyer. But this has always been a controversial issue in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In most other countries, defence attorneys can also be barred from a trial on grounds of abusing their privileges or contempt of court.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 November 1977)



Defence counsel retain wide-ranging leeway, Ministry survey claims

The Bonn Ministry of Justice has undertaken a comprehensive comparison of the criminal trial defence counsel's legal position in ten West European countries in order to refute allegations that democratic rights are being eroded in this country.

The comparison arrives at the conclusion that none of these countries is prepared to forgo the instrument of barring defence counsel from a case if their further participation in a trial disrupts due process of law.

The study also shows that attorney-client contacts can be curtailed in certain circumstances abroad as well.

In this country defence counsel can be barred from a trial if he is suspected of having aided or abetted the accused and in cases of conspiracy involving certain specific crimes as well as in cases where the lawyer's contact with his client places prison security in considerable jeopardy as a result of the attorney's strongly suspected abuse of his privileged position.

- According to Belgian law an attorney can be excluded from a trial if he is seriously suspected of having participated in or abetted a crime. A 'contact ban' may also be imposed in cases where an attorney is suspected of abusing his contact with the accused for the purpose of committing a crime and in cases of divulging classified information.

- In Denmark draft legislation provides for the exclusion of an attorney when his participation in a trial "becomes untenable." By the terms of existing legislation a lawyer can also be excluded if he commits acts aimed at obscuring the facts.

- In England and Wales a lawyer can be excluded if there is evidence that he has committed a crime in collusion with the accused. He can also be barred from the proceedings if, by smuggling messages out of prison, he hampers the due process of law or if he abuses his privileged contact with the accused for the purpose of perpetrating crimes.

- According to French law an attorney can be barred from court proceedings if he has severely violated the code of legal ethics and if such a violation constitutes a crime. This applies particularly in cases where there is severe suspicion that the lawyer is in cahoots with the accused. A lawyer can also be barred from a trial in cases of punishable contempt of court.

- In Italy an attorney must be barred from a trial if he is the subject of criminal investigation, especially in connection with the crime alleged to have been committed by the accused. If a lawyer commits a crime during a trial, he can be sentenced on the spot and thus barred from appearing.

- In Holland a lawyer can be barred if he has aided and abetted a criminal and if he has abused his privileged contact with the accused for the purpose of committing a crime. There are no codified norms governing the exclusion of a lawyer.

- In Austria, too, the exclusion of an attorney suspected of collusion with the accused is not codified, but theoretically it is held that in this instance he should be barred. If the lawyer commits a crime while a trial is in progress he can be sentenced on the spot and thus excluded from further participation.

- In Sweden a lawyer can be barred if he is deemed unfit to plead in court. This contingency arises if he has aided and abetted a crime and if he has severely abused his privileged contact with the accused for the purpose of committing crimes.

- In Switzerland a lawyer can be excluded if he has aided and abetted a crime and if he has abused his privileged contact with the accused for the purpose of committing other crimes.

In comparison with our own, most countries under review boast surprisingly restrictive measures by which to exercise control over defence counsel.

The attorney's contact with his client can be restricted to such an extent that their correspondence is subjected to controls, that visits are delayed and conversations controlled, as in Italy, Holland, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland.

France has the relatively most liberal legislation in this respect and contact between accused and his attorney can in no way be restricted after the first interrogation of the accused by the examining magistrate. *Werner Bollmann*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 December 1977)

■ INDUSTRY

Unions and employers at daggers drawn in printing industry wage talks

Observers of the latest round of wage negotiations between the employers and the unions in the printing industry may, at first sight, be inclined to dismiss the tough talking and even threats on both sides as typical of such negotiations.

In fact, the anger each side has displayed at the intransigent position adopted by the other is quite genuine and not just a device to rouse the solidarity of union or employers' association members.

The main issue in the present round is not, in fact, higher pay, but job protection. Rationalisation in the printing industry is going to mean the loss of another 30,000 jobs.

New forms of technology are revolutionising the printing industry. In the past, large number of compositors have been needed to set type. This work will now be done by computers. In a few years' time, most printing and newspaper firms will have special screens into which texts are fed and edited. Once the article is ready, the "expose" button will be pressed and the article will be photoset. The article is then glued on to a side-frame. The pages are photographed and put on to a printing block which then goes into the rotation machine.

The employers' organisations (The Federal Printing Association, the Federal Association of Newspaper Publishers, the Association of German Magazine Publishers) and the unions involved (the Print and Paper Union, the Commerce, Banking and Insurance Union, the German Clerical Union and the German Association of Journalists) are so far agreed on one point only: that the introduction of new technology in the printing industry cannot and must not be stopped.

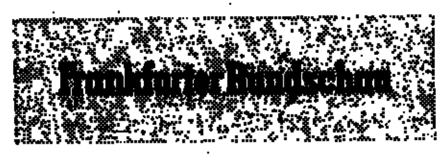
As soon as it comes to the social effects of rationalisation, the opinions of capital and labour differ considerably. What is to become of the highly skilled printing workers whose services will no longer be required in future?

The employers have put the following draft proposal to the unions: in certain firms preference will be given to skilled workers, employees and compositors who have been made redundant by the introduction of the new technology. These men and women will then feed and operate the computerised setting systems.

The Print and Paper Union *(IG Druck und Papier)* does not consider this a genuine job guarantee. The snag in the employers' proposal is that "this preferential treatment does not mean much if there are no longer any skilled printing workers on the company's books."

The result is that after a transition period journalists will feed their texts into the machines or else this job will be done by lower-paid part-time workers. This is what the unions fear and the employers themselves acknowledge that this is what will happen. The Print and Paper Union's main preoccupation is to protect its members' status and wage levels.

In its draft wage agreement, the union demands that skilled printing workers alone should be allowed to feed and operate the text and layout machines and that these workers should be paid



the normal skilled worker's rate plus the usual allowances. The unions argue that although the setting machine has been replaced by screen terminals, the operator's responsibility has, if anything, increased.

The employers disagree on this point. In an internal information brochure for its members, the Federal Printing Association maintains that the operation of the screen terminals, writing plus feeding in the text, involves little more than using a "more sophisticated typewriter." They claim that compositors working at present rates of pay on these new machines would be the equivalent of the stoker on electric trains, a kind of fifth wheel to the cart who has to be "carried" despite the technological progress which has made him superfluous. The employers go on to say that if they accepted the print unions' proposals, it would only mean "hidden unemployment" in firms.

Another contentious issue in the present wage negotiations is the health of screen terminal operators. The Federal Print Association (Bundesverband Druck) describes these terminals as "fascinating toys" and would like to see them installed in all newspaper and magazine editorial offices.

The Print and Paper Union, on the other hand, does not find these terminals at all "fascinating." As evidence that this new technology is by no means as perfect as the print bosses crack it up to be, they cite statements by workers who have already been operating such terminals. They say that this kind of work puts the operators under considerable stress. Anyone operating these machines for more than eight hours will find his concentration reduced at the end of this time. The Print and Paper Union goes on to say that many terminal operators also complained of headaches and sore eyes.

The only way the unions see of ensuring humane working conditions for the operators of these machines is a thirty-five hour week and a paid extra break of twenty minutes. The employers are in principle prepared to make concessions here. They have proposed a five minute break every hour or a fifteen minute break every two hours.

However, the employers completely reject the union demand for a thirty five hour week. The Federal Print Association consider the question of a shorter working week to be an overall economic one. It is a highly controversial issue, and the employers make no secret of the fact that do they do not want to set a precedent for the rest of industry in giving way to demands for a thirty-five hour week.

In the seven rounds of negotiations up to now, both sides have tried to reach some kind of compromise or rapprochement, but without success. The arbitration procedure also failed.

The employees' organisations cite the example of negotiations conducted on the same issues in Sweden and Holland and demand that their draft proposals form the basis of further negotiations with the employers. So far there have already been over a hundred spontaneous stoppages all over the country — and unmistakable sign that the vast majority of print workers support the union demands.

At a joint meeting of the Print and Paper Union's executive and its central wage-negotiating committee in Frankfurt recently, the union leadership was authorised to prepare for a full-scale strike.

Here, much depends on the attitude of the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, the Trades Union Confederation, who would have to provide most of the finance for such a strike — the Print and Paper Union's coffers are more or less empty after last year's strike, when the union paid 33 million deutschmarks in strike pay alone.

The Print and Paper Union now wants to strengthen its position by increasing union dues and cutting down on strike pay. *Jürgen Schenk*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 December 1977)

Print union hardliner Hensche

There are few industries in which relations between employers and unions are as strained as in printing. This is partly because of the after-effects of last year's printers' strike in the Federal Republic of Germany. On the other hand, the *Industriegewerkschaft Druck und Papier* (Printing and Paper Trade Union) makes no bones whatever about defending the interests of its members up to the hilt. It has terrified the employers and certain sections of the public with demands for what amount to a complete restructuring of the present economic system in this country.

One such demand was the proposal, passed at the union conference in October, that privately owned newspapers should be nationalised on lines similar those of the television stations, which are public corporations and "advertising pools" created.

Another factor in the deterioration of relations between employers and unions is the difficult negotiations on the introduction of new technology in the print and newspaper industry. These negotiations have been going on for over a year now.

Last month the unions declared that negotiations had broken down. Since then there have been token strikes, overtime bans and works to rule on occasions. This has hit newspaper publishers particularly hard. It was this group which suffered most from the 1976 printers' strike.

Observers consider that Detlef Hensche is the man behind the print union's present hard line. Hensche has been a member of the union executive for two years. Union boss Leonhard Mahlein recruited him because he needed an intellectual in the executive who could get on well with the German Journalists' Union (DJU) and the German Writers' Association (VS).



Detlef Hensche
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Hensche, who has a doctorate in law, previously spent four years in the social policy department of the DGB (German Federation of Trades Unions) executive. He is the theorist in the leadership of the union, which consists of himself, Mahlein and wage-negotiation expert Erwin Ferlemann.

Hensche's opinions are hardly compatible with the principles of a free market economy based on private enterprise system. He provides the ideological underpinning for the union's conflict strategy. He wants a completely different system, with State-controlled investment, in which workers and trade unionists have more power than at present. Hensche uses the union's newspaper as a platform for his views. On the other hand he is not a tribune of the people — he was comparatively quiet at the union conference.

The employers' tactic of branding Hensche as a bogeyman and extremist has so far rebounded in their faces and only served to increase his union's solidarity with him. More votes were cast for him than for any other executive member at the recent union conference.

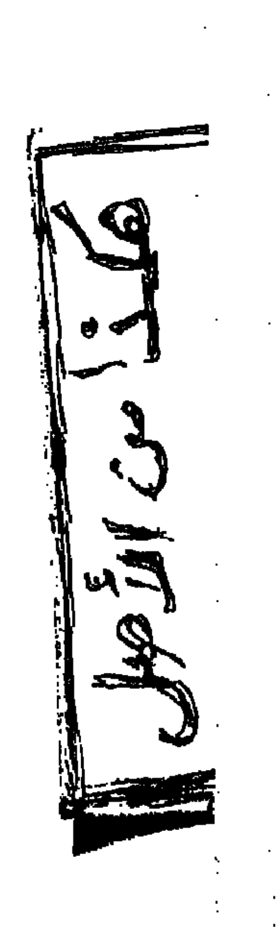
It is probably premature at this stage to see Hensche as the successor to Mahlein, who is himself not an uncontroversial figure. Hensche's comparative youth — he is not yet forty — and his intellectual manner do not help and will probably prevent his rise to the highest position in the union in the near future.

The course of the forthcoming wage negotiations in which the union will be trying to reduce the negative effects of the new electronic systems for compositors, printers and journalists, will show how much weight the various wings within the union carry.

Hensche advocates a hard line on this issue and is prepared to call a strike if necessary. Ferlemann, who is more pragmatic, is following a more conciliatory course and is trying to reach a mutually acceptable compromise.

At the moment it looks as if Hensche has more support within the print union itself, whereas Ferlemann has the DGB and the other major trades unions on his side. *Wolfgang Helmer*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 December 1977)



■ THE ECONOMY

Dollar's nosedive hits German exports

The US dollar, which has been weak for some time, has now begun tumbling on foreign exchange markets.

Only a few weeks ago, during his visit to Bonn, US Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal gave assurances that his government would attempt to stabilise the dollar. But now the US government and the Federal Reserve Bank are standing by idly as the dollar keeps hurtling downward.

It would seem that the world's most mighty economic power is not in a position to pay its foreign trade bill. The current account deficit, which has reached the staggering figure of 30,000 million dollars this year, is a dark cloud hanging over the American sky.

A goodly proportion of this deficit (some 20,000 million dollars) is due to oil imports. Considering the size of the deficit dollar purchases on the foreign exchange markets are rather ineffectual, and it is impossible to forecast what is still in store.

This uncertainty has become the prime risk factor today, making it virtually impossible to prognosticate for next year.

Washington has for some time been prodding the Bonn government to contribute more towards boosting the international economy, yet now the Carter administration has permitted the international monetary order to become totally upset without doing anything to counter this development.

Monetary uncertainty and the risk it entails for our export business have all but eliminated any inclination to invest.

The abrupt and massive devaluation of the dollar — or revaluation of the deutschmark — has dealt a severe blow to the development of export business, which is vital for this country's economy. On it we had pinned our hopes.

Equally dangerous is the thus engendered cheapness of imports, which is tantamount to importing unemployment.

Foreign competition on home markets has even in past years hit certain of the domestic industries hard. They are now losing ground on their own home markets and might even go to the wall, taking jobs with them.

All this can hardly be intended as America's contribution towards curing the West's economy. If we permit this development to continue unchecked, the flow of German capital to the United States will increase, thus reducing the growth rate of the economy still further.

It must be made absolutely clear that, if there is any chance at all of engendering more economic growth and thus reducing unemployment and preserving our social achievements, then only via stepping up exports and only by the opening up of new markets and the development of new products.

It is the capital goods industry in particular which makes or breaks an economy and whose production capacities are largely unutilised today. It is in this industry that the die will be cast — and it is an industry which depends heavily on exports.

Mechanical engineering, for instance, the largest group in this sector, must find markets abroad for more than two thirds of its output.

In other words, if our export opportunities are curtailed still further and if our industry, which is burdened and weakened by the world's highest wage costs, is hampered as a result of the high exchange rate of the deutschmark, we shall be hit in the most vital and vulnerable spot.

In 1977, the volume of exports in real terms will probably have risen by a mere four or five per cent instead of by the nine per cent originally predicted by the Advisory Council of Economic Experts, or Five Wise Men.

We have already noticeably suffered on foreign markets where the decisive element in competition is the price rather than quality, and there was clearly a retrogressive tendency this year as regards Germany's share in world trade.

Up to now business has coped rather well with the steadily rising value of the deutschmark on international foreign exchange markets.

But whether we weather such fluctuations or not depends on how they occur and what is happening right now is simply too much and can lead to a collapse.

Since the beginning of 1976 the deutschmark has gained more than twenty per cent on the dollar. All we need now is excessive wage deals next year and bankruptcies and jobless figures will reach proportions which only a short while ago no-one would have considered possible.

It is conceivable that the dollar's tumbling will be halted temporarily, as happened last July. But the trend is unmistakeable, and it points steadily downward.

The reason for this development is of a structural nature and it will be impossible to remedy the situation without drastic energy-saving measures in the United States. But hardly anybody believes that America will succeed in this department.

If the present exchange rate of the dollar remains as it is, or if the deutschmark becomes even more expensive, then there is but one chance left for our economy.

We must put up a dogged resistance to further costs, taxes, social security expenses, all the way to an embargo on further wage increases. And unless we heed the red light we shall be in serious trouble.

But all this would presuppose a wage policy that is based on common interests. It is simply untrue that, as Eugen Loderer, general secretary of *IG Metall*, the metalworkers union, said a few days ago on television, the redistribution of incomes in favour of business has proved ineffectual and has not provided a single unemployed worker with a job.

What redistribution? The undeniable fact is that profits have clearly diminished in 1977 and that a redistribution is taking place in favour of consumption and at the cost of investment — and all that after signs of improving profits had become discernible in 1976.

But this improvement was only an improvement on the exceptionally low level of profits over the past few years and the remedy proposed by Herr Loderer, namely to boost demand by wage increases, has proved naive and ineffectual in our present situation.

In 1974 there were the highest wage increases, namely thirteen per cent, and the lowest increase in consumption, namely 0.3 per cent. At the same time employment dropped by 680,000.

No businessman would be foolish enough to oppose increased purchasing power for the consumer. After all, that is what business lives on. But in the current acute labour market crisis nominal wage increases would achieve nothing and would indeed aggravate the crisis still further.

Our demand deficit is not attributable to private or government consumption. Mass buying power and consumption have been rising steadily for years.

In fact, consumers spent a whacking 25,000 million deutschmarks in foreign exchange for travel abroad this year and still had enough left to build up sizeable savings accounts back home.

Such affluence is certainly gratifying. But any further financing of consumption in such a manner will not provide jobs.

While production capacities in the consumer goods industry are virtually fully utilised, large sectors of the capital goods industry are operating at well below capacity.

What we need is more demand for plant and machinery, cement factories, steel mills, ships, nuclear power stations, aircraft and complete industrial complexes.

Wage increases will do nothing to boost such demand but will in fact reduce it due to rising production costs. It would be a major step in the right direction if all parties would accept the soundness of this line of argument.

Walter Slotosch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 December 1977)

Job prospects just as poor next year

Work volume next year will be slightly down on 1977, says the HWWA Institute for Economic Research in Hamburg, basing its forecast on an estimated average growth rate of three per cent in real terms.

According to HWWA, employment decreased this year following a brief rise. This change of trend coincided with the overall stagnation of production since the spring. This once more demonstrates, the institute says, that employment figures drop in times of economic stagnation.

On the other hand, the year 1976 showed that even in today's situation economic growth is a suitable means of increasing employment.

In 1977 both components of work volume — working hours and the number of people employed — diminished slightly. There was less overtime and more short-shift work on the one hand and fewer employed persons on the other.

In some sectors, as for instance in the automobile industry, the service industries and the State, employment increased. Yet it fell in other important industries such as chemicals, mechanical engineering and construction.

As a result, the number of unemployed, which had fallen in 1976, began to increase again.

Due to the school-leaving last summer of young people from the first high birth rate year of a post-war baby boom the unemployment figures rose above previous year's level.

But even so, youth unemployment in November (4.4 per cent) was not higher than the overall unemployment figure.

However, this figure is in fact somewhat higher in view of the fact that young people looking for an apprenticeship are not listed in official statistics.

The number of apprenticeships available in still inadequate and there is a disparity between supply and demand, with excess supply in the production sector and excess demand in the service industry.

The number of job vacancies listed in official statistics, which has been stagnating at around 200,000 for the past three years, is likely to be twice that figure.

There, too, we have a considerable discrepancy between supply and demand. HWWA assumes that the actual supply of jobs has increased since the recession — especially for skilled labour.

But the Federal Labour Office's role in job-finding diminishes in direct proportion to rising qualifications of the staff wanted. As a result, many job vacancies are never registered with the Labour Office. With regard to 1978 HWWA does not anticipate any major change in working hours per person employed. But the number of working people will be lower than this year.

The actual development of unemployment depends on such hard to predict elements as labour supply attributable to rising population figures or the outflow of labour due to foreign workers returning to their own countries.

If this latter element outweighs the former, thus providing some relief for the labour market, the average unemployment figure for 1978 will be the same as in 1977, namely 1.03 million.

(Handelsblatt, 14 December 1977)

■ COMMON MARKET

EEC summit reaches agreement on new unit of account

The nine EEC heads of government wrapped up their Christmas gift just in the nick of time. As of 1 January 1978 the old European unit of account will be replaced by a new one.

The publicity with which the Nine celebrated their courageous decision was such as to make one believe that they had taken a giant step towards a European currency which would make us forget all the wrigglings of the Snake, the deutschmark's highs and sterling's lows.

But in actual fact we are no closer to a monetary union than before. The heads of government simply ended a feud which had caused headaches to their Finance Ministers for the past year, at the same time taking leave of the last vestiges of the intact world of fixed exchange rates.

The new accounting unit replaces the old one, which used to be equal in value to the American dollar and which, in 1971 when the good world of fixed exchange rates was shattered, retained the parity of the time, notwithstanding all the antics of the deutschmark, the Dutch guilder, the French franc, the Italian lira and the pound sterling.

Thus the pound was still worth nine deutschmarks in Common Market accounting terms at a time when it fetched a mere four deutschmarks on foreign exchange markets.

Bonn Finance Minister Hans Apel has for some time been irked by this blatant disregard for the ever-rising value of the deutschmark. His staff have pointed out time and again that Bonn is paying an annual DM 1,000 million too much into the EEC exchequer.

But, if the Germans were to pay less, it was obvious that the others would have to fork out that much more. Those others are the countries whose currency has been wasting away since 1971 — above all Britain.

But the British refused out of hand to bear the additional cost, pointing to a clause in their membership treaty whereby the increase of their contribution to EEC coffers in 1978 and 1979 was to be limited.

The new members who joined in 1973 (Britain, Ireland and Denmark) will in any event only have to bear their full share of the financial burden as of next year, as stipulated in their membership treaties.

The tug-of-war about adapting the EEC units of account to existing exchange rates has turned more and more into a private war between London and Bonn.

The egotism and stubborness of Britain in connection with a number of other Community issues so upset the other members — except Ireland, which is in the same boat as Britain — that they all backed Bonn although, on the surface, there was much that spoke in favour of Britain.

Were the poor British to dip deeper into their till in favour of the rich Germans?

The relevant clause of the membership treaty is ambiguous inasmuch as it fails to state whether the limitation of the British contribution is meant in accounting units (as interpreted by Bonn)





or in national currency (as maintained by the British).

The Finance Ministers failed to sever this Gordian knot. But they were reluctant to take the issue to the European Court in Luxembourg. And yet none of the parties involved was prepared to yield.

London was unwilling to give an inch because it has become a matter of principle with Britain not to neglect its own interests in favour of the Community — especially when this would entail the painful business of spending money.

Bonn on the other hand had grown weary of this British attitude and considered its demand for a new accounting unit perfectly equitable — particularly in view of the fact that the new unit had proved its worth in other Community processes such as statistics, the European Investment Bank and development aid.

As the Dutch prime minister at the time, Joop den Uyl, put it, the nine heads of government to whom the Finance Ministers had turned over the matter after reaching the end of their tether had achieved a "miracle of pragmatism" by finally reaching agreement.

Having introduced the new accounting unit, they left it to each member nation to fix its own contribution to the Community budget.

In the final analysis, this means that the DM 1,000 million which the Germans no longer want to pay and which the British are not yet prepared to pay remains in the balance.

Our pragmatic heads of government decided that this remainder is to be divided up according to four different sets of possible apportionment plans and that each member should choose the most favourable of these plans.

But even so, there still remains a remainder and the game could well go on for a while longer.

The pragmatism of the heads of government enabled both sides to arrive at a compromise without loss of face. But this compromise is more costly for Bonn than it is for London since the DM 1,000 million under dispute has now been divided up among the Nine, and even with the most favourable apportionment plan Bonn will still have to pay almost twice as much into Brussels coffers as will Britain, namely DM 325 million as opposed to DM 167 million.

Bonn's contribution to the EEC budget for 1978, which the European Parliament will probably fix at about 12,300 million accounting units (DM 33,000 million), will amount to about DM 10,000 million or 31 per cent. France will provide 19.4, Britain 15.4 and Italy 12.4 per cent.

The new accounting unit, which was agreed upon on 6 December, is actually almost three years old — as is its bigger sister, namely the Special Drawing Right of the International Monetary Fund, and both are a so-called "basket currency."

The new-look EEC unit of account consists of nine EEC currencies, the parities of which are fixed according to their share in exports between 1969 and 1973.

One new unit of account consists of 82.8 pfennigs, 8.85 pence, 1.15 French francs, 109 Italian lire, 28.6 Dutch cents, 3.66 Belgian francs, 21.7 Danish öre, 0.759 Irish pence and fourteen Luxembourg centimes.

All this having been computed into actual exchange rates, the value of an accounting unit on 9 December amounted to DM 2.588.

On 1 February 1977 this figure was DM 2.688. This is the exchange rate which has been fixed for the 1978 EEC budget. The old accounting unit, which will apply until the end of this year, was worth DM 3.66.

But the actual saving to Germany is out of keeping with this difference, and this is not only due to the special arrangement arrived at with Britain for the next two years.

Eventually — unless Britain proves obstructionist again — the apportionment plans for the EEC budget will provide a certain balance.

Those who, like Germany, have to pay less for a new accounting unit will have to bear a greater share of the budget since their economic potential will have a bearing on the exchange rate.

Due to this automatic balancing process, the other members were able to view the Anglo-German tug-of-war (which in any event applies only to the next two years) with a certain equanimity.

Even if the introduction of the new accounting unit is by no means a brilliant event, it nevertheless took the European Community a step further — not only because of the expansion of the European Regional Fund but also because the calculation of contributions to the budget according to VAT revenue has thus been blocked.

The confusion caused by differing exchange rates in all sorts of EEC transactions has also come to an end — though with one exception: agriculture prices are still converted into manipulated "green" currencies, which has forced Agriculture Ministers to engage in the most curious acrobatics.

But the latest EEC summit has brought us not one bit closer to the eventual objective of a European currency. Even if the new accounting unit were to provide a fine currency, such a currency, if it is to be circulated, would still require a genuine European Central Bank.

But no miracle of pragmatism on the part of our heads of government can bring about such a central bank as long as Europe acts along the lines of Shakespeare's "As You Like It" and a common currency will remain as distant as ever.

Petra Schelinski

(Deutsche Zeitung, 16 December 1977)

Two-per-cent increase in farm prices

Depending on the degree to which they are affected, the EEC's 9.1 million farmers will either frown or smile at the announcement of the new minimum prices for agricultural products in 1978/79.

The Danish vice-president of the European Commission, Finn Olav Gundelach, has granted Europe's farmers an average increase of revenues by two per cent — the Germans getting less than one per cent.

This is really no more than a crumb, considering an average EEC inflation rate of nine per cent.

As in the current year, when guaranteed minimum prices were only slightly increased, agriculture is once more to become the dray horse of the Community's anti-inflationary policy.

But this stability aim is no more than a papering over of the actual objective. What Agriculture Commissioner Gundelach really wants is to rid agriculture of the odium of being the most costly element in the European integration process.

And indeed agriculture has swallowed up DM 23,390 million (or more than two-thirds of the total budget). This is a burden which sheds a rather bleak light on our "Green Front."

The public frequently regards the farmer as being responsible for the high cost of living. And only few people are aware of the fact that our producers of milk, meat and vegetables do not get even half the money the consumer has to pay at the check-out counter of his supermarket.

What makes life so expensive is the relatively riskless route agricultural produce takes from the farmer via the wholesaler and the retailer to the consumer.

Granted, our farmers have never produced with such a disregard for market requirements as under the EEC with its guaranteed prices. EEC regulations apply to 96 per cent of agricultural produce.

This is an enormous incentive to produce as much as possible since the Brussels price system knows no limits. Surpluses are bought up and stockpiled and the taxpayer has to foot the bill.

This might be a somewhat heretical view, but surpluses are still cheaper (and put all our minds at rest) than bothersome and costly supply bottlenecks.

Moreover, the extent of the stockpiles is usually overestimated. Thus for instance our beef mountain of 300,000 tons would cover the requirements of the Community with its 260 million people for a mere two weeks.

Europe's agriculture has been considered the pillar of the integration process ever since the inception of the Community twenty years ago. Never before has the supply of foodstuffs been so varied and so dependable.

The tiny crumb of additional revenue granted to the farmers will cost the consumer a mere one half of one per cent. But this has been calculated by the Commission, which is unsullied by the striving for profit on the part of business.

Anyway, the Green Front is unlikely to collapse because of the low prices fixed by Brussels. In no other sector of our economy has the growth rate reached agriculture's fifteen to twenty per cent — a figure of which business can only dream.

Helmut J. Weland

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 December 1977)

■ SCIENCE

Heidelberg astronomers probe secrets of the Universe



Heidelberg astronomers have made observations which seem to indicate that stars originate as dense layers of dust, which also serves as the basic material in the birth of planets.

The light emanating from a star that has come into being in the centre of such a dust layer reaches Earth on a direct route in a considerably diminished form. The decisive factor, it is claimed, is the light reflected sideways, which is heavily polarised as a result of a detour.

As far back as two years ago, astronomers of the Heidelberg Max Planck Institute of Astronomy working at the German-Spanish observatory atop Calar Alto in the province of Almeria, Southern Spain, proved the existence of nascent stars still surrounded by clouds of dust.

An infra-red camera developed at the Heidelberg institute enabled scientists to penetrate the clouds of dust by means of long-wave light.

A few months later, using the same method, astronomers discovered new galaxies closer to our own. Obscured by clouds of dust in the Milky Way, these galaxies appeared as diffuse objects with a heavy red tinge.

Radioastronomers, too, are now increasingly directing their attention to the analysis of stars in the making. As a result a number of areas in which such stars are taking shape have been discovered and are now the focal point of attention at the Max Planck Institute.

It is these stars through which new insights have been gained, but they would not have been possible without the development of new measuring techniques.

Thomas Schmidt, Bodo Schwartze and Klaus Proetel, in cooperation with electronic and precision instruments workshops, have developed new instruments for the exact measurement of brightness — in other words, photometry — and for the determination of the frequency direction of the light captured (polarisation measurements) with which they are carrying out extensive readings in the vicinity of nascent stars.

When these instruments were put to use at the 1.2-metre telescope on Calar Alto, the three above-mentioned scientists arrived at startling results in their observations.

In the dust layer W 3 there are objects with an unusually high proportion of polarised light, amounting to as much as sixteen per cent. In the M 17 dust layer polarisation proportions reached an amazing 26 per cent, and there was a surprising uniformity in the direction of polarisation planes.

According to Hans Elsässer, director of the Heidelberg institute, attempts to explain the high proportion of polarised light by means of dust clouds that are obscuring the light rays seem fairly improbable.

He considers it more likely that the star, in other words the source of the light, is embedded in a dense, disc-like cloud of dust. This cloud of dust lies in the direction of the viewer, thus permitting only small quantities of light to reach him. The observed light consists primarily of those rays which the star exudes to both sides of the dust disc.

In such places there is a dent in the dust disc shaped like a thin cloud which reflects the light at a ninety-degree angle, and this accounts for the high degree of polarisation. It seems evident that this cloud consists of matter that has been hurled sideways.

This interpretation is pretty much in keeping with theoretical ideas concerning the birth of a star within a planetary system.

A mass of dust begins to rotate, forming a flat disc in the centre of which there occurs a concentration which gives rise to the creation of a star. Planets form on the outskirts of the rotating dust disc.

Subsequently, the light rays of the young stars hurl the material not utilised in forming the star and the planets into space, and eventually the star is seen in its full brightness.

The fact that a number of cosmic objects which are close enough to make their bipolar structure discernible seems to indicate that the dust disc theory of the Heidelberg astronomers is rather plausible.

Thus, for instance, there are two bright dust areas in the so-called Egg Fog with a seventy-per-cent proportion of polarised rays. In between there is a dark area which evidently obscures the central star through heavy layers of dust. The fact that in W 3 and M 17 the rotation axes of the bipolar dust discs are very uniform in direction — in W 3 they are virtually all perpendicular to the galactic plane — seems to indicate a uniform stimulus mechanism, in other words, the rotation of the dust discs and thus the creation of stars and planetary systems must be triggered by a common mechanism such as a shock wave running through the Milky Way system.

Neighbouring the W 3 area there are the somewhat older areas W 4 and W 5. It is assumed that the shock wave reached W 5 and W 4 first, subsequently reaching W 3 and ushering in the process that gave rise to the birth of the star there. The situation is somewhat more complicated with regard to M 17.

axis of rotation
thin cloud of smoke
Earth
direction of polarised light
thick dust disc
nascent star

How Heidelberg astronomers reckon stars are born

(Photo: ...)

The phenomenon of the bipolar ... could thus be typical for certain phases in the coming about of stars. Moreover, young stars frequently appear bedded in flat dust discs.

The formation of planetary systems is therefore probably a rather frequent occurrence and there is every likelihood that the universe contains more planetary systems than hitherto assumed.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 December 1977)

Versatile particle accelerators

Once in a while particle accelerators make headlines. Generally, these headlines are related to the discovery of a new element — and it is always the same large-scale accelerators that are mentioned.

In Western Europe these are usually those of the European Nuclear Research Centre (CERN) in Geneva or the DESY electron synchrotron in Hamburg.

It would appear as if only these major installations matter. But in actual fact, says nuclear physicist Dr Josef Ney, professor at the Technical University in Berlin, many small accelerators installed in numerous universities and research institutes play a more important role in everyday life.

Professor Ney, for instance, has a compact cyclotron, a roughly circular accelerator for hydrogen and helium nuclei, at his disposal.

His accelerator is propelled by a fifty-kw FM transmitter which is considered a strong unit even in radio terms. This achieves an energy of twenty million electron volts which equals about one-fifth of the speed of light.

Such a speed can circle the equator three times within a span of a mere two seconds.

The relatively small so-called compact cyclotrons are by no means a rarity. Baden-Württemberg alone has about ten of them, according to Professor Ney's estimates. They are used not only to train students but also assist in many fields of technology.

For the physicist-to-be work on a cyclotron is an activity involving many sectors of science.

In order to engage in nuclear experiments by means of an accelerator, students must familiarise themselves with vacuum technology, electronics, data processing, high-frequency technology as well as the various regulations governing protection from radiation.

Thus for instance, by bombarding lithium, berylium and a number of other metals with hydrogen nuclei it is possible to trigger nuclear reactions within the cyclotron which lead to highly penetrating neutron rays.

Such reactions have the property of inflicting heavier damage to certain cancer cells than to healthy tissue, and are thus suitable as a means of cancer therapy. This type of therapy is already being practised in Heidelberg, in Rijswijk, Holland and in the United States.

Purpose-oriented nuclear reactions by means of cyclotrons enable Man to produce short-lived radioactive substances which are steadily gaining in importance in the field of diagnosis and medical research.

The objective in both instances is to identify radio isotopes through their radiation and to follow their course in the human body. This enables physicians to check the function of individual organs and thus arrive at an early diagnosis of a considerable number of ailments.

It is therefore important to have cyclotrons located in the vicinity of clinics. Experts in nuclear medicine have a vested interest in the use of short-lived radio isotopes which have no lasting detrimental effect on the patient.

Because they are short-lived they preclude the possibility of transporting them over long distances.

Ideally, says Professor Ney, such isotopes should be used *within a few hours* after having been produced.

In other cases it suffices to mark certain substances by injecting them with molecules of ray-emitting isotopes of an existing chemical element.

Thus for instance dentists would like to know whether fluoride actually has the properties attributed to it by toothpaste advertisements.

Experts differ on the question whether fluoride prevents caries, whether it should be added to drinking water and whether it is absorbed by tooth enamel. This question is now to be clarified in Berlin by means of "marked" fluoride. Professor Ney hopes to be commissioned to provide the necessary ... isotopes.

So far, dentists have used arsenic to destroy nerves. Alas, it is still unknown how much of this arsenic enters the patient's body. This question, too, can be clarified by means of marked arsenic.

Even pharmacology can expect to gain new insights through radio isotopes which would enable experts to follow the route of a marked drug through the body.

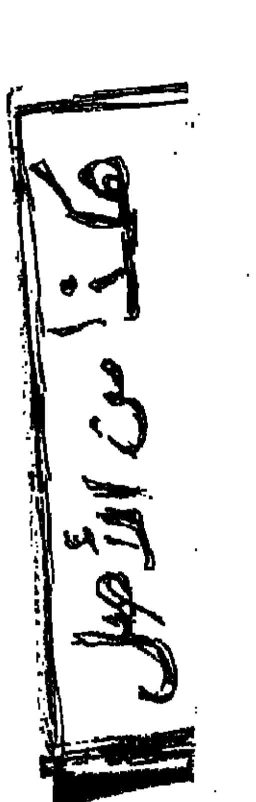
But cyclotrons can also play an interesting role in criminology by enabling experts to activate certain specimens. Subsequent analysis can prove the existence of substances amounting to no more than one-billionth part of a gram.

Tiny paint splinters after a traffic accident involving a hit-and-run case, for instance, can thus provide important clues as to the manufacturer of the car.

Meanwhile, the use of cyclotrons has also proved its worth in establishing the origin of metals used in antique ... coins.

Tiny but typical additives which ...

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■ WRITING

An East Berlin critic of East Bloc socialism

Rudolf Bahro, the East Berlin dissident author of a critique of socialism as practised in the Eastern Bloc, was remanded in custody several months ago on suspicion of espionage. Why are the GDR authorities so keen to brand his views those of a criminal?

Bahro is attempting to analyse what GDR head of State Erich Honecker and USSR party leader Leonid Brezhnev have described as "really existent socialism." Bahro describes his own standpoint as that of a "revolutionary Marxist." His critique is divided into three parts.

The starting point, typical of the first section, is that there are substantial differences between "really existent socialism" and socialism as envisaged by Marx.

Bahro analyses particular social formations, going right back in history to "Asiatic modes of production" which explain the development of this social formation.

Russia and the USSR play an important part in this section, because an understanding of Russia and the USSR is an essential prerequisite for an understanding of the GDR or Czechoslovakia.

In the second part, Bahro deals with the structure of "really existent socialism" — its centralistic and bureaucratic organisation, its character as a historical society, the extreme powerlessness of those directly involved in production processes and its political and ideological organisation as a "semi-theocratic State."

In the third part, Bahro looks at the alternative "which is growing in the womb of really existent socialism and other industrially developed nations."

Bahro is committed to Marxist procedure "which makes events dance so that we can play their melody back to them."

Bahro has "invented" nothing. His analysis of socialist reality cannot be dismissed as "imperialist propaganda." Bahro has looked at the reality rather than the distorted self-congratulatory ideological image of "really existent socialism." He has gathered together observations, experiences and developments and tried to generalise on them.

The GDR, Czechoslovakia and the USSR are not, in Bahro's view, communist and not even socialist. This is because the party organisations in these countries "produce false consciousness en masse."

He also blames what he describes as the "dictatorship of the politbureau," which he attacks as "a fatal exaggeration of the bureaucratic principle" because the party apparatus is "a Church hierarchy and a super State in one."

Nationalised property "as the domain of this politbureaucratic and administrative power" is "a mode of production sui generis." It does not make a great deal of difference to the individual worker whether he is doing piece work within the capitalist system or for really existent socialism. "Nothing reminds the individual worker in the really existent socialist system more cruelly of capitalism than piece work."

GDR head of State Erich Honecker recently stated "the word piece work had no better sound than in socialist society" (*Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz der DDR* 21/77, p. 163).

Bahro disagrees; he says that the result of piece work is alienation in the GDR as much as in capitalist society. He goes on to say that the function of Marxism-Leninism is merely to provide ideological justification for this system.

Bahro advocates a "cultural revolution" with five main aims:

1. To abolish the old system of the division of labour.
2. To combat the exclusion of the majority from decision-making processes and to give them the education to make their participation possible.
3. To combat the patriarchal view of childhood which hinders the child's development.
4. To combat the lack of community.
5. To combat bureaucracy.

Bahro argues that détente, the Belgrade and Helsinki conferences and Eurocommunism have "created the inner subjective conditions for a more effective formation of opposition elements."

Bahro acknowledges, however, that the situation in the GDR is the least developed in this respect. He explains this underdevelopment in terms of the relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany, the comparatively smooth functioning of its economy, the Prussian tradition of obedience to the State, and the density, vigilance and comparative efficiency of the socialist system of control.

On the other hand, Bahro does not consider "an alliance of communists beyond capitalism" to be utopian. This alliance would be the exact opposite of the SED in every respect — "an organisation of emancipatory interests," "an association of men and women with the same basic philosophy, i.e. people of general competence all striving for the same kind of solution to problems."

It would be a "revolutionary community" open to all sides, "the ideological inspiration of integral behaviour by all grass roots groups" and "a collective of intellectuals communicating in democratic manner and agreeing on a consensus for change."

Bahro's book is not against the GDR. The main target of his attack is the Soviet Union, with which the GDR is "*forever and irrevocably bound*" (Article 6 of the GDR Constitution).

He makes this quite clear in a television interview with Lutz Lehmann. "My book is a critique of really existent socialism. You can only understand the roots, the history and the structure of really existent socialism if you look at Russia's path from being an agricultural despotism to what I call an industrial despotism."



Rudolf Bahro
(Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

This observation, plus a self-interview, six lectures on the book, a handwritten curriculum vitae and other interviews are all to be found in the *Dokumentation*.

In the introduction to the *Dokumentation* we read the apt observation that "the SED could certainly put Bahro in prison, but it could not shut him up."

Wilhelm Bruns
(Das Parlament, 10 December 1977)

Rudolf Bahro: *Die Alternative – Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus.* Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne/Frankfurt 1977. 541 pages. DM34.

Rudolf Bahro: *Eine Dokumentation.* Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne/Frankfurt 1977. 111 pages. DM7.80.

GDR grants dissident novelist exit permit

East Berlin writer Hans Joachim Schädlich, whose novel *Versuchte Nähe* was well received by reviewers after its inclusion in the autumn lists of Rowohlt, the Hamburg publishers, has been granted an exit visa by the GDR authorities. His first application last summer was refused, but Schädlich and his wife are now safely in this country.

Hans Joachim Schädlich's request has finally been granted. The GDR authorities have reversed their previous decision and given the 42-year-old East Berlin writer and translator an exit visa. He and his family will now settle here in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The news will come as a great relief to Schädlich's friends in East and West. It is a happy and unexpected turn of events. Before he left the GDR the authorities there had worked out a watertight case and there was considerable anxiety among his friends about what would happen to him.

For Schädlich and his wife this is the end of a period of great psychological stress. It was a situation which nobody who has not been in it can appreciate. Outwardly at least, the two seem to have come through the ordeal remarkably well.

It all began when Schädlich declared his solidarity with the twelve prominent GDR authors who had signed a letter of protest against the expulsion of Wolf Biermann, East Berlin poet who has now settled in Hamburg.

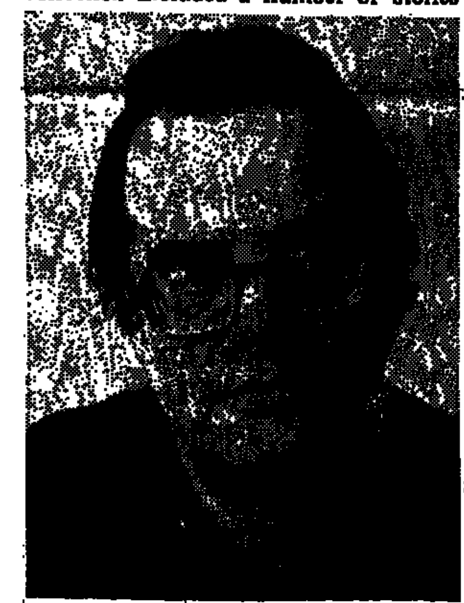
At the time, Schädlich himself was not a prominent author. A selection of his prose writings had appeared in *Literaturmagazin*, published by Rowohlt of Hamburg.

He had sent his work to publishers in the GDR as well, and there were a number of publisher's readers who were highly impressed by the literary quality of the work. However, no specific offers were made, only vague promises for the future.

These promises would hardly have been kept even if Schädlich had not signed the Biermann petition. For this "crime" Schädlich was punished in a number of ways, though it is not correct, as some have reported, that linguist and literature lecturer Schädlich was removed from his post at the East Berlin Academy of Sciences. Schädlich had already given up this post to earn his living as a freelance translator.

What did in fact happen was that he stopped receiving translation commissions. Efforts were then made to put pressure on his wife, who was working on her PhD thesis at the time. These efforts failed.

In the spring of 1977 Schädlich decided to publish in this country. The collection included a number of stories dealing directly with the pressure he had been subjected to since signing the Biermann petition.



Hans Joachim Schädlich
(Photo: Rowohlt Verlag)

The collection, published by Rowohlt in August 1977, is melancholically entitled *Versuchte Nähe* (Attempt at Nearness). It was unanimously hailed here as a major literary event and reviewed at some length on television, radio and in the press.

In September a Darmstadt jury chose it as the book of the month. It came top of *Südwestfunk's* list of best books and has remained there ever since.

Schädlich's friend the novelist Günter Grass has been trying hard to get *Versuchte Nähe* into the best-seller lists as well. This autumn he gave a large number of public readings of his latest novel *Der Butt* (The Flounder). At these readings, he invariably also read Schädlich's *Unter den achtzehn Türmen der Maria vor den Teyn.*

Grass certainly persuaded a lot of people to read Schädlich's work, but not enough to give him a mass readership. This is hardly surprising when one considers that *Versuchte Nähe* is not suitable for rapid literary consumption. Its remorseless intensity, however, will ensure its success in the long term. And the positive judgements of respected literary critics will also tell.

Meantime, Schädlich sat in his flat in East Berlin and, from a distance, noted all the publicity surrounding his book. It did not seem to affect him. He told me once that he kept on having to remind himself that he was really the author of the book he heard being reviewed on radio and television.

This reaction should not be attributed to surprise at the positive response to his book. Schädlich is quietly and modestly convinced of its importance. What disturbed him was the painful contrast between his success in the West and the reality of his life in East Berlin.

In the summer, Schädlich put in his first application for permission to leave the GDR. After an intolerably long time

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■ EDUCATION

European Business School delivers the goods

Klaus Evard is the director and founder of the first private Graduate Business School in this country. The European Business School, which is in Offenbach near Frankfurt, has been providing courses in management studies since 1971. Its graduates are very much in demand in industry and commerce. The Deutsche Bank looking for a trainee manager recently contacted Evard to ask if any of his graduates was looking for a job: Evard's answer: "Sorry, I'm completely booked up. Try again in 1979."

The Deutsche Bank, which is the biggest in this country, wanted to appoint one of Evard's graduates to a post in autumn 1978. But here the Deutsche Bank was too slow off the mark. Others, such as the giant American Morgan Guarantee Trust Bank, the Crédit Lyonnais and the French tyre producers Michelin had got there before them. In past years, the Commerzbank and the Hamburg Vereins- und Westbank have appointed Evard's graduates.

Evard is 41 and comes from Berlin. He has held a professorship at the Sorbonne in Paris for some years now. He gives fortnightly lectures on comparative taxation law. He is of medium height and gives the impression of being a *bundle of energy who could work thirty* hours a day and eight days a week if necessary.

Evard has not only devoted a considerable amount of mental energy to his managers' university project. He has also invested his entire savings of DM180,000. He still pumps his own money into the European Business School, which works together with institutes of the same name in London and Paris. "I put all the money I earn at the Sorbonne back into the Offenbach Institute. I'm sure it will pay off handsomely *in the end,*" he says.

Evard had to fight for several years to get state recognition for his European Business School. He had to take the case to the highest administrative court before the school was granted university status. Hesse state ministers of education — first Ludwig von Friedeburg and then Hans Krollmann (SPD) — were not at all happy about giving their blessing to an institution exclusively devoted to the training of future capitalists.

The boot is on the other foot now and the present Hesse minister of economic affairs Heinz-Herbert Karry (FDP) is trying to persuade Evard to move into one of Hesse's empty castles.

The European Business School is at present housed in a high-rise block. It is very comfortable and there is room for expansion in the next two years. Admittedly, the Kaiserstrasse in Offenbach on the outskirts of Frankfurt is hardly a sought-after address, but it is highly convenient from a traffic point of view.

Evard has rented the entire sixth floor in the skyscraper. Ideally he would like the school to have an entire building for itself but he would prefer this to be in the centre of Frankfurt rather than in an idyllic castle on the Rhine.

The reason for this is simple. Evard not only has academics from the universities of Mainz, Bochum, Trier and Frankfurt "on loan" at his school — fifty per cent of his lecturers are practising managers and industrialists. Evard's basic principle is that each subject is taught by an academic and by a practising manager.

To operate this system, the school has to be easily accessible from a traffic point of view. Marketing director Otto Oscar von Stritzky has his office in Frankfurt and could reach a castle on the Rheingau in half an hour by taxi. For Maizena managers Henning Blombach and Hellmut Grundmann from Hamburg it would be rather a different matter. Their block seminars on "Practical Examples of Personnel Management" or marketing problems are held three or four times per semester. They last all day, beginning at 9 o'clock in the morning. This means they can catch a plane from Hamburg at seven o'clock and it is then only a stone's throw to from the Rhein-Main airport to the European Business School.

There are a number of very prominent names among the practising managers and industrialists who teach at the EBS: Horst Bockelmann of the Bundesbank, Matthias Schmidt, formerly a member of the AEG board, who also has a professorship in Cologne. Josef H. van Biet, executive manager of Messer Griesheim, is also on the list of lecturers. At the top of this list is Johann Philipp Freiherr *von Bethmann, co-owner of the* Bethmann banking house. Under the new university framework act, he will be entitled to call himself a professor from 1979 onwards if he can give evidence that he has taught regularly at the EBS.

Professor Evard is also trying to persuade former Bundesbank president Karl Klasen to lecture for him. He also wants Manfred Meier Preschany, who is a member of the Dresdner Bank board, to teach at the EBS and help solve the problems of recruitment and quality in the banking profession. There is only *one double lesson on banking every* other semester at the university of Frankfurt.

EBS graduates are already very much in demand. "Every manager who has graduated from our school has got a job" says Evard. Next year, 22 of the school's 95 students will be taking their final examinations. And once they have passed they will be able to pick and choose their jobs. There are few other graduates in the same position these days. Evard has got 56 offers of jobs for these graduates tucked away in his drawer — from Germany, Belgium and France.

Directors' assistants, systems analysts and sales strategists are in great demand. A Bremen firm was prepared to pay a starting salary of DM2,800 for an EBS graduate. A large US firm offers a starting salary of DM3,200 for a post in *Brussels, while a Paris firm is even* prepared to go as high as DM3,800. The candidate for the last-mentioned post must, however, be prepared to spend half his time travelling.

What is it about EBS graduates that makes them so attractive to industrial and commercial firms, whereas many of their contemporaries at state universities are on the dole?

The practical and international orientation of the course is a decisive factor here. English and French, taught in language laboratories, are compulsory sub*jects for all students. They also* have to spend one semester in Paris and one semester in London. Then there are six "practical periods" each lasting up to two months. At least one of these is in England and at least one in France.

Following the example of the American Graduate School of Business in Stanford, there are regular checks on attendance and achievement. Professor Evard explains: "It is just like football. Anyone absent or late five times gets a yellow card, and those who are absent or late ten times are shown the red card. *The students themselves insist that* regular latecomers and absentees should be expelled."

Model students such as these do not, of course, go on strike. They have to pay fees of DM2,050 per semester. In the school's early days, Evard only charged DM1,550. He considers the present fee of DM2,050 to be quite reasonable and appropriate: "Look at it this way. Four years' study at my school cost no more than a Volkswagen Golf with sliding roof."

The EBS receives DM4,100 per an*num per student.* This, however, is not enough to cover the university's costs of DM7,000 to DM7,500 per student per annum (the average number of teaching hours per semester week is 28). The costs at the University of Frankfurt where there is an average of only 12 contact hours per semester week come to DM42,000.



Klaus Evard
(Photo: Erika Sulzer-Kleinmeier)

Evard gets a subsidy of DM2,800 per student from the state, plus a private subsidy of DM500 from industry.

*This means that the private univer*sity's finances are in such a healthy state that it is in a position to award full scholarships to working class children who pass its stiff entrance examination (a pass in the school-leaving examination is not enough in itself).

At the moment only one student, the son of a gardener, is on one of these scholarships. The vast majority of students at the EBS come from well-heeled families. About fifty per cent of all students — students numbers have doubled in the last two years — are the sons and *daughters of company owners, managers* or the self-employed.

Evard forecasts that state universities will have to face increasing and intense competition from private universities, because industry is not prepared to accept the low standards of efficiency and performance at state universities. Evard attributes the decline of the state universities' standards to the huge increase in student numbers which has made the universities into an educational mass-production line.

He cites the example of the Com*merzbank, which has to put its graduate* trainees through a special eighteen month course which costs more than DM180,000 per head. Hoechst, the chemical and pharmaceutical company, trains its own managers, which means that from 1980 onwards the Hoechst AG will not be taking on any more graduate trainees.

Government educational experts should take these warning signals seriously. There is an unmistakable trend in larger industrial companies towards training their own managers. No less *than 200 German companies have gone* to considerable trouble and expense to create traineeships for pupils with Advanced Level (Abitur). For many pupils, such traineeships are a more than acceptable alternative to university with little prospect of a job at the end.

The Offenbach model shows that German industry is prepared to take action to train the kind of managers it needs for the harsh competitive world of tomorrow. It realises that training in scientific management techniques is absolutely essential if the Federal Republic of Germany wants to keep its nose ahead of its competitors in the growth stakes.

State universities will have to take account of new requirements and adjust to the trend typified by the Offenbach operation. These adjustments will have to come soon, because time is running out.

Burkart Salchow
(Deutsche Zeitung, 9 December 1977)

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this request was turned down. He was accused, in all seriousness, of having written and published his works purely and simply so that he could leave the GDR and go and live in the West.

The authorities were determined not to let him have his way. They advised him to abandon his present literary activity and, in future, to write in a manner befitting a GDR writer.

The main thing, they pointed out, was the correct point of view. If he adopted the correct point of view he would find everything plain sailing and would not tread on anybody's toes.

This fatuously jovial *admonition* was not all. Schädlich had applied for membership of the GDR *Schriftstellerverband* (Writers Association). Some members of this orthodox body now tried to ruin Schädlich's career as a writer.

The names of these wretches are known but do not deserve mention. They dismissed his work as rubbish, saying that there was little point in discussing its literary qualities as they were non-existent.

One *Schriftstellerverband* hack even accused Schädlich of anti-Soviet propaganda and said that he did not understand why the GDR security forces had not "rendered him harmless" — a play on the name Schädlich, which means harmful in German — by imprisoning him.

Schädlich already seemed to have one foot in prison but the authorities decided not to incarcerate him after all. The unwanted, non-integrable author lived for several months in a state of permanent inner exile, with no prospect of an end. The only ray of hope on the dark horizon was the slim chance of permission to emigrate from a country which wanted to hold on to him although it did not really want him.

Schädlich's position was that of a present without a future. Now it is all over, and we wish Herr Schädlich and his wife good luck for their fresh start.

Wolfgang Werth
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 December 1977)

■ **ARCHAEOLOGY**

Tübingen archaeologists unearth Ice Age site

Little or nothing was known about the Ice Age inhabitants of West Germany until Joachim Hahn and a team of Tübingen University archaeologists started digging at Lommersum, near Euskirchen.

Traces of human habitation dating back to the end of the Ice Age had been found, but not of the millenia of the Ice Age proper — apart, that is, from cave dwellers in an isolated area of the Swabian Alb.

At the end of the Ice Age, when the Baltic was still full of shifting glaciers, packs of hunters are known to have lived in the Eifel mountains, near Cologne, and in the vicinity of Hamburg.

They set up their tents as they travelled around, staging major religious festivals from time to time.

All told, however, the distribution of finds creates the impression that the wide open countryside between the glaciers to the north and south was uninhabited, which was surely not the case.

In point of fact the chilly steppes between the glaciers must have been full of large animals and a happy hunting ground for the people who occasionally dwelt in South German caves.

Yet few traces of Ice Age habitation have been found, and for a good reason. Such traces as there may have been were destroyed by the ravages of the climate.

Ice Age Germany was a circumglacial zone in which permafrost began just below ground level, whereas the soil at surface level was in a continual state of flux.

Rainwater was unable to percolate down to the water table. For thousands of years it just washed around the surface, churning up hills and silting up dales and destroying virtually without trace such testimony as might have remained to the life and times of Ice Age Man.

This makes Dr Hahn's dig at Lommersum in the Eifel hills all the more exciting. The Eifel hills, south of Cologne, slope down to the Rhine in the east and the Moselle in the south and the dig is located on a terraced bank of the Ice Age Rhine.

Over a period of years Dr Hahn and his Tübingen archaeologists have pieced together traces of Ice Age hunters who lived here 32,000 years ago, to judge by carbon dating techniques.

It was the last cold spell of the Ice Age following a warmer period. The weather was cold and dry. The vegetation, to judge by traces of charcoal and pollen, cannot have been any too inviting.

The Ice Age Rhineland was an almost treeless grass-covered tundra sporting occasional dwarf birch and willow trees.

A farmer and amateur archaeologist first discovered the Lommersum site. Coming across unusual white-edged flint artifacts he realised that he had found something special and reported his find to the authorities.

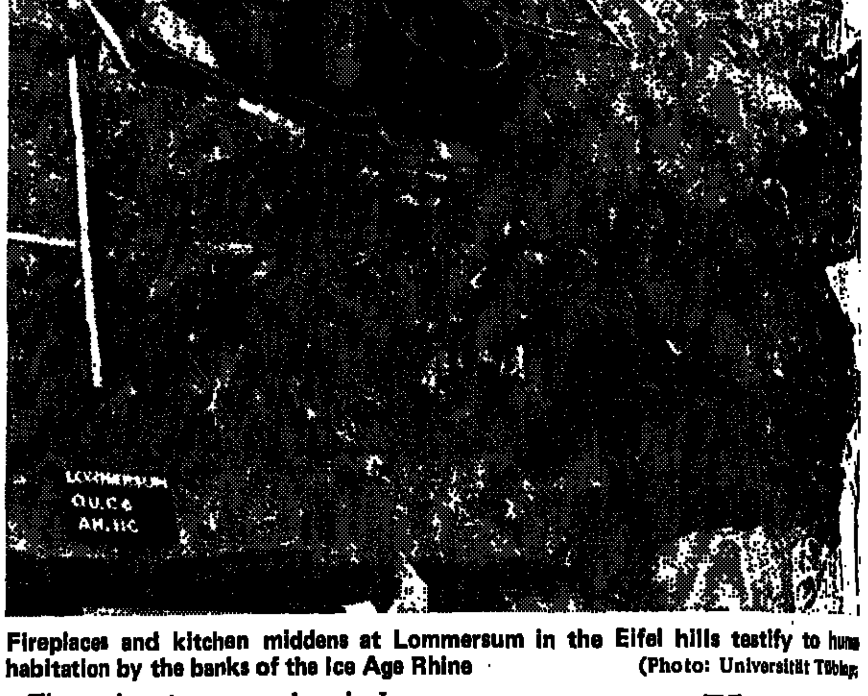
It soon transpired that these flint utensils were tens of thousands of years old and had belonged to Ice Age Aurignac Man.

Subsequent excavations revealed that the village, or whatever it might have been, had only been preserved in part, the kitchen and workshops having escaped destruction by being midway between high ground which was eroded and low ground that was silted up.

Any traces of tents or huts had long since disappeared. Living quarters appear to have been further uphill on land that was later eroded.

So no one knows how large this community of Ice Age hunters was, but they certainly left behind heaps of bones and antlers of their quarry — reindeer, for the most part.

Ice Age Man is known to have camped here three times over a period of several decades, slaughtering between twenty and fifty reindeer at a time. He also appears to have hunted wild horses and bears too must have been in evidence; a solitary bear's tooth was found among the bones. The flint utensils were used mainly to strip and cut the carcasses. The flint came from a site about twenty miles away, which was no distance for the nomadic hunters of Lommersum 32,000 years ago.



Fireplaces and kitchen middens at Lommersum in the Eifel hills testify to human habitation by the banks of the Ice Age Rhine (Photo: Universität Tübingen)

They only set up camp here in Lommersum during the summer hunting season, between April and September, incidentally, as is shown by the condition of the antlers of their prey.

Life as a hunter will not have been much fun, however, even though there can have been no shortage of quarry. Even in summer the chilly tundra cannot have been too hospitable.

What is more, there was not enough wood for fires on which to roast the reindeer meat. The bones had to be burnt too, as can not only be seen but also chemically proven to have been the case.

Oddly enough there is no evidence of the Lommersum hunters hunting mammoth, although the forebear of the elephant must have been hunted all over Europe in those days.

It is hard to see why they should not have done so. Maybe reindeer were easier quarry. Maybe, for that matter, the mammoth did not graze in pastures around these parts.

A further teaser is the deep red colouring of the soil around the fires, evidently caused by ferrous oxide, a natural dye used elsewhere in religious rites.

At Lommersum it would seem to have been used either to impregnate reindeer hides or to preserve reindeer meat.

Should further evidence be unearthed in the course of evaluation of the Lommersum finds we may learn more about the techniques known to our forebears 32,000 years ago.

Harald Steinert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1977)

Neanderthal museum in Düsseldorf

Neanderthal Man, our palaeolithic forebear of between 60,000 and 100,000 years ago, is named after an outer suburb of Düsseldorf where the original bones were found in a disused quarry.

All that remains near the site is a modest museum including an enclosure where the prehistoric bison and auerochs graze.

Local authorities have now decided to invest 2.4 million deutschmarks in a Neanderthal museum of Ice Age fossils and research centre attached to the department of prehistory and early history at Cologne University.

The costs will be shared equally by North Rhine-Westphalia, the Rhineland regional authority, the cities of Düsseldorf and Wuppertal and the administrative district of Mettmann.

The museum will feature all manner of flora and fauna with which Neanderthal Man will have been acquainted. The original skull, however, will stay on exhibit at the *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* in Bonn.

Neanderthal Man is not the only, still less the oldest, Stone Age man of whom traces have been found in the Rhineland. Stone utensils found near Mönchengladbach are more than 100,000 years old, but no one yet knows who used them.

Oddly enough, the one skull is the only trace of Neanderthal Man to have been found in the Rhineland. He seems, however, to have been a frequent cave-dweller in prehistoric France. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 December 1977)



Ancient Roman brickwork forming part of the foundations of the harbour gate at Xanten on the Rhine in the second century AD (Photo: Landschaftsverband Rheinland/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn)

Roman Xanten rebuilt in open air

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Were the Roman city of Xanten to be rebuilt on its sunken foundations it would look for all the world like Dodge City or any number of Western film sets.

Archaeologists are convinced that the Ancient Romans built their city on the Rhine with two-storey buildings and covered wooden pavements or arcades of the kind we associate with America's Wild West.

At the end of the first season during which Xanten open-air museum was open to visitors Dr Christoph Rüger, curator of the *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* in Bonn, told journalists that this 'Western look' would be resurrected solely in the form of two facades facing one another.

The further reconstruction of the city known to the Romans as Colonia Ulpia Traiana will, he stated, be aimed mainly at reconstructing as many aspects as possible of everyday life in Ancient Rome in an open-air atmosphere.

The open-air museum will eventually include the first complete harbour dating back to the ancient world to be reconstructed north of the Alps.

The Roman city is now some distance from the Rhine but 1,800 years ago it was a major port. A twenty-foot length of wooden quayside has already been excavated and only recently a three-foot length of rope came to light.

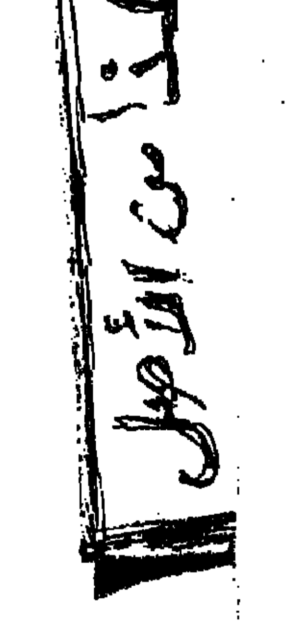
It will, however, be years before the harbour has been reconstructed complete with ships and cranes as used in the days of Emperor Trajan.

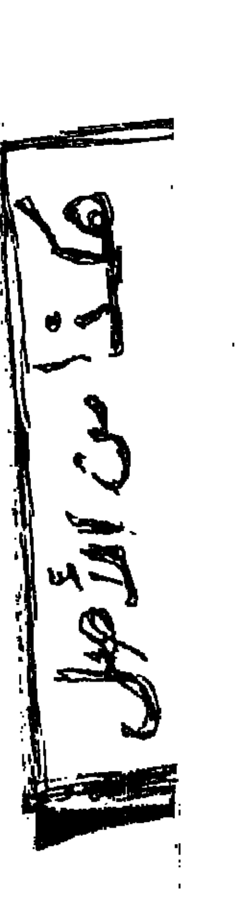
Enormous quantities of gravel must first be dredged and bulldozed clear. What is more, a complete trunk road, the *Bundesstrasse 57*, must be rerouted.

Local people are enthusiastic; their imagination has been fired. Since the museum was opened to the public last June 182,000 members of the public have passed through the turnstiles.

Next year a quarter of a million visitors are expected to come from this country and neighbouring Holland. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 12 December 1977)





■ MODERN LIVING

Raw deal for wards of court, Frankfurt lawyer claims

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The psychological well-being of children is in anything but in good hands when they are made wards of court, and generally speaking, the judicial control exercised by local authority youth departments leaves much to be desired.

Court cases involving parental guardianship frequently fail to differentiate between small and older children and their differing needs. The damage thus caused by the judiciary can only be termed severe.

These are the findings of a three-year study headed by Frankfurt lawyer Professor Spiros Simitis. The closing report has now been made public.

The study, which was subsidised by the Scientific Research Association, is the first interdisciplinary project of its kind. The eight-man group consisting of members of all disciplines of sociology presented its findings in good time prior to the Bundestag deliberations on reforms of parental guardianship.

Professor Simitis stressed in a press interview that this was an entirely novel project and that its depressing findings should not be interpreted as an attack on our overburdened judiciary but as a pointer to lawmakers.

The research group evaluated the files of eight Hesse courts in rural areas and four in Frankfurt. The results were then augmented by discussions with judges and by the assessment of questionnaires.

The "preliminary closing report" comprises 506 pages. The entire project is expected to be concluded early in 1978.

Professor Simitis pointed out that the group had picked cases in which child welfare was given priority in the courts' consideration.

Virtually the only thing judges were able to go by were reports of youth departments which dealt almost exclusively with material aspects in cases of children who were to be removed from parental care.

Only in half of the cases were the judges provided with information about the stage of development and the personality of the child — and even then only in general outlines.

But even detailed reports can provide no more than a confusing picture. *Psychological maltreatment, for instance,* was never the reason for a court case. And in case of adoption the reports were virtually always whitewashed.

Professor Simitis and his report indicate that these shortcomings are aggravated still further by the lack of judicial control. Thus for instance judges are reluctant to ask for expert opinions.

Of the 371 cases under review, only six show that the judge asked for such reports and in eighteen cases these reports were presented at the behest of the parties concerned.

Most startling, however, is the lack of personal contact between judge and child in cases where the judge has to rule on the child's future.

In custody cases and in cases concerning visiting arrangements the judge questioned the child in only seven to nine per cent of the cases. And in other instances involving different matters, the child was questioned in a mere six per cent of the cases.

But even parents were heard in only half the proceedings and in only 25 per cent of the cases did the judge talk to *both parents. It goes without saying that* the written material in the files provides virtually no information about the child's position.

The work group considers the entire appeals system problematic since higher courts operate in exactly the same manner. Moreover, the report laments the low degree of knowledge on the part of judges concerning children's psychological problems; and furthermore the proceedings are too protracted and fail to take into account a child's concept of time.

Proposals for remedies essentially consist of the demand that it be suggested to judges that they take a more active part and that they handle the various cases with more care. But they must first, of course, be enabled to do so.

Professor Simitis stresses that a child must no longer be viewed as an object.

Hanno Kühnert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 December 1977)

New Divorce Act takes time getting used to

Has a divorce fatigue set in among Germans? Statistics certainly seem to indicate this. In the second half of 1975 there were some 50,000 divorces. This figure rose to 52,000 in the second half of 1976. But during the same period of 1977, the figure is unlikely to exceed between 5,000 and 6,000. Are we facing a change in trend where divorces are concerned?

The answer is an unequivocal no. In fact, the trend towards more divorces is likely to continue in the years to come.

A few figures can best demonstrate this trend to date: 1960 saw 48,000 divorces in the Federal Republic of Germany. By 1965 this figure had risen to 58,000, continuing to rise to 76,000 in 1970 and 106,000 in 1975, reaching 112,000 last year.

Why then the spectacular drop in the second half of 1977?

There are three possible answers. Firstly, the new Divorce Act which came into force on 1 July 1977 and which brought about fundamental changes in the procedure and thus a virtual standstill in terms of divorces actually granted.

Secondly, the mills of justice — especially of German justice — grind exceedingly slowly.

And thirdly, divorce is a painful business — especially so under the new law — although in most instances only for men.

The change in the divorce law is by far the main reason for the startling drop in the second *half of 1977.*

The new law introduced a legal principle whereby the consequences of divorce must be settled before a divorce *can be granted,* which is exactly the opposite of the law as it used to stand.

This means that under the terms of the new law it must first be established — be it by out of court settlement or by the court — who is to receive custody of the children and who is to pay how much alimony to whom.

Furthermore, it must be decided how much capital a family has accumulated during married life and how these gains are to be distributed, who is to receive what in terms of household goods and many other related questions.

All this takes time. This is particularly true where pension rights are concerned — and this is one of the major points of the new law.

In case of a divorce pension claims must be split now, whereas under the old law no such provisions existed, which favoured men as a rule, leaving women — and especially housewives — in the lurch.

This pension splitting, too, must be settled before a divorce can be pronounced. And frequently it takes many months before the insurance companies concerned come up with the necessary information.

Small wonder, then, that there have been virtually no divorces granted since the new law came into force.

But in a few months things are likely to change again, and divorce statistics are likely to show rather high figures.

This is primarily due to the fact that many women bided their time waiting for the new Act to take effect before filing suit, since in most instances women are the beneficiaries.

Bruno Waltert

(Die Welt, 6 December 1977)

Versatile particle accelerators

Continued from page 8

cape conventional chemical analysis can prove the origin of many substances ranging from dope all the way to explosives — and all this through isotope analysis.

Such nuclear rays are used to clarify decisive questions with regard to blueprints for future nuclear fusion power stations. The murderous neutron rays cannot fail to have an effect on the walls of the vessels containing them. This effect must first be examined before proceeding with the construction of fusion power stations.

Astrophysicists are using cyclotron experiments in order to shed light on the question how energy is released by the Sun. They bombard material specimens in small cyclotrons in order to bring about changes in their properties.

It is a known fact that certain metals develop different magnetic properties under such bombardment. Although this fact in itself has no practical application as yet, it might very well lead to specific uses in our electronic age.

After all, the bombardment of semiconductor discs with alien atoms by means of particle accelerators has already gained practical importance in industry — especially in the manufacture of integrated circuits, the highest developed forms of which are used in microcomputers.

In such cases, accelerators — once the playground of physicists — have gained a firm place in industry. *Walter Baier*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 December 1977)

Young offenders no longer branded as criminals

Prevention is better than punishment. This realisation which has long since been put into practice in cases of older prisoners is now to be applied to juvenile delinquents as well.

Some 60 to 70 per cent of all juvenile delinquents who have served a prison term are recidivists, says the chairman of the Association of German Juvenile Judges, Professor Horst Schüler-Springorum, Munich.

As a result, he suggests that juvenile delinquents initially be offered a helping hand rather than be prosecuted.

In the publication *Berichte aus der Forschung* (Research Reports), published by Munich University, Professor Schüler-Springorum recommends two promising methods which have barely reached the experimental stage in this country.

One of these methods involves so-called "diversion" which is being successfully applied in Anglo-Saxon countries and by which young people are intercepted before being put on trial. The other is the further development of socio-therapeutic institutions for juvenile delinquents with severe personality defects.

Diversion has already been tried and proved in Sacramento, California, where, after a while, the number of juveniles facing court charges dropped by 80 per cent. The proportion of arrests fell by more than fifty per cent and that of recidivism by fourteen per cent.

The number of young people displaying criminal traits in later years dropped by 25 per cent.

Moreover, the cost of the new measures is not even half that of court cases and subsequent imprisonment.

The emphasis in diversion lies in the attempt to put the brakes on potential criminals and their criminal traits in such a manner that formal court sentences with all their negative consequences become redundant.

According to Professor Schüler-Springorum, this method is still more or less alien to this country.

In the United States, on the other young people receive prophylactic treatment by psychologists and social workers which spares them from having a criminal record in cases of minor crimes. This "gentle" procedure has not only been used in the case of everyday *juvenile infringements of the law,* although such cases are in the majority. They originally included only running away from home, truancy, general misconduct and cases in which a juvenile seemed likely to embark on a career in the world's oldest profession.

When diversion proved successful the programme was extended to actual crimes such as car theft damage to property and possession of drugs.

According to Professor Schüler-Springorum, this method could also be applied to the 60,000 youths between 13 and 18 and some of those between 18 and 21 in this *country who face criminal* charges every year and who eventually provide the underworld with new blood.

Rolf Henkel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 December 1977)

■ SPORT

New-look dope ban includes steroids

Anabolic steroids have forced sports officials to take a fresh look at dope bans. Revised recommendations in this country, as Professor August Kirsch, president of the Amateur Athletics Association, explains, provide for stiff penalties for offenders but do not go so far as to endorse proposals for an independent narcotics squad.

An important agreement has been reached in the dispute as to what constitutes medical or pharmaceutical 'improvement' of performance in top-flight competitive sport.

The management committee of the Sports League (DSB), the Frankfurt-based organisation representing fourteen and a half million members of affiliated sports clubs and associations, has endorsed a series of amendments to the 1970 recommendations on doping.

The amendments, which were framed after consultation with the Sports Medicine Association and the Federal Sports *Science Institute, start by listing prohibited drugs.*

Phenylaethyl amino-derivatives such as pep pills, narcotics and analeptics have now been joined on the index by anabolic steroids, the body-building hormones.

The ban on anabolic steroids is even more extensive than for other drugs, which are merely prohibited prior to and during a contest.

Steroids are also banned during training, and spot checks will accordingly also be undertaken while athletes are in training.

There has been no change in the number of competitors on whom drug probes are to be conducted even though the 1970 regulations have proved impossible to observe on this point.

In individual (as opposed to team) events checks are to be conducted on the first three past the post and on a further three selected at random.

In field and track athletics there are 38 Olympic disciplines of which between twenty and 25 are often contested at international tournaments, which would mean several hundred dope checks every time.

There is only one laboratory in the *country equipped to carry out the necessary* checks and this lab, which is in Cologne, simply lacks the capacity to handle such brisk business.

The DSB presidium in Frankfurt has accordingly stated its intention of enlarging this facility.

The revised Doping Charter recommends a ban of between four weeks and six months for first offenders, a ban of between one and two and a half years for second-timers and a 'life sentence' on subsequent offenders.

The DSB is not in favour of the idea of a narcotics squad operating independently of sports associations and empowered to conduct spot checks at will during contests and in training.

Sports associations are to retain ultimate responsibility for deciding on the tournaments at which dope checks are to be conducted and for carrying the checks out once this decision has been taken.

Amateur athletics has been in a quandary since 1971 when the IAAF banned anabolic steroids without being able to conduct routine checks.

In view of this difficulty the IOC did not index steroids until Montreal, while the European Amateur Athletics Federation, which did not introduce anabolic steroid checks until 1975, has still to reach a firm conclusion, so difficult is it to tell for sure whether an athlete has been taking muscle pills or not.

Die Zeit recently quoted remarks made by a pharmacist at the March 1977 general meeting of the Amateur Athletics Association.

These remarks are unfortunately still sub judice and the proceedings of the appeals committee are unlikely to reach a conclusion before next spring.

One accusation has, however, been dismissed in a 20 April 1977 statement to the Bonn Bundestag.

The president is also unaware of any resort to anabolic steroids by the association's women sprinters and has never claimed that anabolic steroids were not on the association's blacklist.

Everyone has always been in a position to verify — and is still welcome to do so — that steroids were blacklisted by the Amateur Athletics Association in this country the moment they were banned by the IAAF, whose regulations are binding on us in this respect.

Reference was made in the controversial speech to comments by AAA specialists Dr Keul, Dr Klümper and Dr Kindermann. All three doctors were said to have prescribed steroids rather than have athletes take them without medical supervision.

The three specialists have since stated in writing that they only approve of prescribing anabolic steroids on therapeutical grounds.

The Sports League and the NOC issued a major declaration on matters of principle at the May 1977 meeting of the DSB management committee.

It has yet to be fully implemented by sports organisations everywhere are busy improving training, medical and psychological facilities at the athlete's disposal.

A number of concepts require closer definition. What, for instance, is technical manipulation, a concept which has yet to be incorporated in the new doping recommendations?

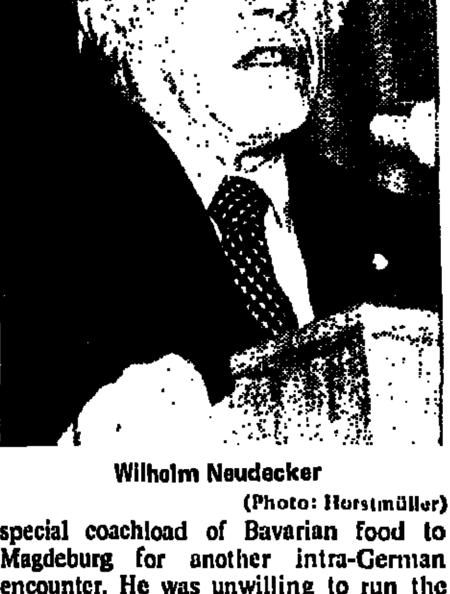
The scientific commission of the Federal Competitive Sport Committee has defined the concept as follows:

"Technical manipulation as referred to in the declaration of principle is any kind of physical influence that is brought to bear on an athlete with a view to boosting performance and is likely either to endanger the athlete's health or human dignity or to effect adversely the reputation of sport."

The commission added, however, that this definition requires further clarification in the form of examples applicable to specific disciplines. *August Kirsch*

(Die Zeit, 16 December 1977)

Wilhelm Neudecker – Bayern Munich's controversial boss



Wilhelm Neudecker

(Photo: Horstmüller)

Wilhelm Neudecker, Bayern Munich's controversial boss, can look back on an unprecedentedly successful run at the helm of the Munich soccer club over the past twelve years.

In the Ruhr a manager who had led his club to four league championships, four Cup championships and four European Cup wins would have been regarded as an all-time great in his own lifetime.

In Munich all that Wilhelm Neudecker has to show for welding Bayern into a *showcase of soccer in this country is the* Federal Order of Merit and the gold medals with his bust on them that he had struck three years ago to mark the club's seventy-fifth anniversary.

Modesty is not the hallmark of a man who has made his own way up from bricklayer to millionaire. Neudecker, 64, enjoys being in the limelight and is by no means averse to jostling his way in.

He is a man who feels that if you want a job done properly you have to do it yourself. To all intents and purposes he is not only club chairman but also vice-chairman, treasurer and manager too.

A man who puts in so much work is bound to make mistakes now and then. Small wonder that praise and criticism have followed each other in such swift succession during his sixteen years with Bayern.

During this time, of course, his style of management has markedly changed. Initially he ran the club in a somewhat makeshift manner, but as he got the hang of club management he grew pushy, cocky and eventually seemingly intent on self-aggrandisement.

Other men at the helm of Federal league soccer clubs have to take into account the views of others in the boardroom before taking major decisions. Not so Wilhelm Neudecker.

In this line of business the means justify the end, especially when they are crowned with success. Take, for instance, the first intra-German European Cup encounter in Dresden in 1973.

En route from Munich to Dresden by autobahn Neudecker ruled that the team would stay the night at Hof, on the Bavarian side of the border.

The argument he advanced for this somewhat undiplomatic gesture was that gradual acclimatisation was a 'must' given the difference in altitude between the two cities.

Munich, it will be noted, is 530 metres above sea-level, Dresden 106 metres.

The following year Neudecker took a special coachload of Bavarian food to Magdeburg for another intra-German encounter. He was unwilling to run the risk of GDR cooks doping his team.

It is only fair to add that Neudecker, and Bayern, could not afford to lose either game. He had welded Bayern into a club with an annual turnover of between ten and thirteen million deutschmarks and needed every pfennig to pay stars such as Franz Beckenbauer, Gerd Müller and Sepp Maier.

Wilhelm Neudecker evidently enjoys dealing with individuals and large sums of money and Bayern provides him with ample opportunities of doing so.

Other clubs had little option but to follow suit. They not only did so with *hardly so much as a murmur; they even* elected Wilhelm Neudecker chairman of the league management committee.

This vote was surprising in view of the cavalier way in which Neudecker deals with other clubs. Only recently, on the lookout for a new team coach, he signed Eintracht Frankfurt's Gyula Lorant without so much as a by-your-leave.

Lorant was still under contract to the Frankfurt club but the Bayern boss succeeded in pulling a fast one over on the less experienced Eintracht board.

The deal will certainly have gratified Wilhelm Neudecker and, as he would be the first to agree, professional soccer is not the place for scruples.

Oskar Schmidt

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 December 1977)

Soccer's European championship draw

Giacinto Facchetti, who drew lots *for the qualifying rounds for the 1980* European soccer championships, could hardly have done this country a better turn.

Facchetti, who captained the Italian team a record 96 times, deputised for Lady Luck at the Excelsior Hotel, Rome, since the next European championships will be staged in Italy.

In order to qualify for the June 1980 tournament and reach the final eight this country has merely to beat Malta, Turkey and Wales.

Team coach Helmut Schön was as surprised and delighted as anyone else on hearing the news but chose to say, with his customary caution, that this was a task he felt the team were capable of accomplishing.

This outcome was largely due to UEFA seeding, with countries being divided into three groups before lots were drawn. The first group consisted of this *country, as reigning world champions,* Czechoslovakia (current European champions), Holland (No. 3 in Europe), Yugoslavia (No. 4), England and the Soviet Union.

To make up the numbers Belgium was also included in this first group, while the second group consisted of weaker countries Cyprus, Finland, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Iceland and Denmark. The remaining seventeen countries made up Group Three.

Contestants in the seven qualifying rounds are as follows:

Group 1: England, Denmark, Ireland, Bulgaria, Northern Ireland.

Group 2: Belgium, Norway, Austria, Scotland, Portugal.

Group 3: Yugoslavia, Rumania, Spain, Cyprus.

Group 4: Holland, Iceland, Poland, GDR, Switzerland.

Group 5: Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, Sweden, France.

Group 6: Soviet Union, Finland, Hungary, Greece.

Group 7: Federal Republic of Germany, Malta, Wales, Turkey.

The seven group leaders will qualify for the final round in Italy, which as host country automatically qualifies as No. Eight.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 1 December 1977)

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